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MATHURĀ: AN ANCIENT INDIAN CITY

BY

DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt., F.R.G.S., F.R.A.S.B.

THE city of Mathurā (Pali : Madhurā)[1] was the capital of Sūrasena, situated on the Jumna, at present included in the Agra Division of the United Provinces. The city was on the Upper Jumna about 270 miles in a straight line north-west of Kauśāmbī[2]. The Jainas call it by the name of Sauripura or Sauryapura[3]. It was also called Madhupuri (present Maholi, five miles to the south-west of the modern city). Madhupuri, which was once the abode of Madhu, father of Lavaṇa, is said to have been founded by Śatrughna[4].

The city is important as the birth-place of Kṛṣṇa. It was here that Kṛṣṇa killed Kamsa, the tyrant king of Mathurā. This city was known to the ancient Greeks as one of the most flourishing towns. Arrian knew it as the capital of the Sūrasenas. Ptolemy mentions it as a city surrounded by high mounds[5].

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1. The difference is due to a mere linguistic peculiarity. (Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara, Ch. 108, Bombay Recension).
2. Cambridge History of India, I, p. 526.
3. S. B. E. XLV. p. 112.
4. Viṣṇupurāṇa, (Fourth Amśa, Ch. 4).
5. Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 374.

The city was prosperous, peaceful and populous, and the metropolis of king Subāhu of the race of valiant Kamsa. Alms were easily obtainable[6]. Fa-Hian who visited India in the fifth century *A.D.* came to the country of Ma-tāou-lo (Mathurā). He saw this country inhabited by many people who were happy. Those who cultivated the royal-land had to pay a portion of the gain to the state. The king governed the country without resorting to corporal punishment. Criminals were simply fined lightly or heavily according to the circumstances of each case. The king's body-guards and attendants were all paid. Throughout the whole country the people did not kill any living creature, nor drink any intoxicating liquor, nor eat onions or garlic. The *caṇḍālas* who used to inhabit this country were fishermen and hunters and used to sell flesh-meat. In the markets there were no butchers' shops and no shops for selling liquors.[7]

Hiuen Tsang who visited India in the seventh century *A.D.* came to this country. According to his Travels, the country of Mathurā was above 5,000 *li* in circuit, while its capital was above twenty *li* in circuit. The soil was very fertile and agriculture was the chief occupation of the people. Mango trees were grown in orchards attached to the homesteads of the people. The country produced a fine-striped cotton cloth and gold. Its climate was hot. The manners and customs of the people were good. The people believed in the Law of Karma. There were Buddhist monasteries, deva-temples and the followers of the different non-Buddhist sects lived pell-mell. He also saw at Mathurā three topes built by Aśōka and the topes for the relics of Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Pūrṇamaitriyāniputra, Upāli, Ānanda and Rāhula. He visited Upagupta's monastery at Mathurā, which was just one of the many Buddhist establishments of the place. It enclosed a tope with a finger-nail relic of the Buddha. He saw a dried-up pond and not far from that pond there was a large wood in which there were footsteps of the Four Past Buddhas. He also saw the Naṭabaṭavihāra and Urumaṇḍa hill. The pilgrim seems to have made a hurried journey across a portion of the city of

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6. Lefmann, Lalitavistara, pp. 21-22.
7. Legge, Fa-Hien's Travels, pp. 42-43.

Mathurā. He does not mention the great river which flowed past the east side of the city. [8]

Among the discoveries made at the village of Māṭ, situated about nine miles north of the city of Mathurā on the left bank of the river Jumna, the following are noteworthy :—

(1) A life-size statue of king Kaṇiṣka which is about 5 ft. 4 in. high including the base. The head and both the arms of the statue are lost.

(2) A tank where the Kuṣān king Kaṇiṣka discharged his novel task towards Varuṇa, the god of waters.

(3) Several Nāga images.

(4) A mound marking the site of a Buddhist sanctuary near the village of Jaisinghapura situated three miles from Mathurā towards Vṛndāvana.

(5) A large mosque of red sand-stone built by the Emperor Aurangzeb on the ruins of the great temple of Keśava-deva situated at Kātrā forming part of the modern city of Mathurā.

(6) A Buddhist stūpa.

A careful study of the Mathurā school of sculpture leads us to the conclusion that the flourishing period of the Gandhara school must have preceded the reign of Kaṇiṣka. In the course of excavations, many sculptural fragments came to light, mostly of a later date. Among the earlier finds may be mentioned a broken four-fold Jain image with a fragmentary inscription in Brāhmī of the Kuṣān period [9].

There was an influx at Mathurā of the semi-Hellenistic art too weak in its environment to maintain its own individuality, yet still strong enough to interrupt and enervate the older traditions of Hindusthan. There was a close relation between Mathurā and the North-west and as an illustration of that the votive tablet of Loṇaśobhikā is very much significant, the stūpa depicted on it being identical in form with the stūpas of the Scytho-Parthian

8. Watters, On Yuna Chwang, Vol. I. pp. 301-313.

9. Explorations at Mathurā by J. Ph. Vogel: A.S.I. Annual Report, 1911-12, pp. 120-33.

epoch at Taxila[10]. The sculptural remains found at Mathurā clearly indicate the presence of Graeco-Bactrian influence.[11] The most valuable Śaka-satrap monument at Mathurā discovered and first published by Bhagwānlāl Indrajī is in the form of a large lion carved in hard red sand-stone and intended to be the capital of a pillar. Its workmanship shows Persian influence. The surface is completely covered with inscriptions in Kharoṣṭī characters which give the genealogy of the Satraps ruling at Mathurā and according to these inscriptions the satraps of Mathurā were Buddhists.[12] It is interesting to note that the Pre-Kuṣān sculptures of the Mathurā school are very instructive as they all emanate from one and the same school and those sculptures divide themselves into three main classes: the earliest belonging approximately to the middle of the second century *B.C.*, the second to the following century, and the last associated with the rule of the local Satraps. Their style is like that of the early school in a late and decadent phase when its art was becoming lifeless[13].

Mathurā was, further, a great religious centre. Jainism was practised with great devotion there[14]. Under the Kuṣāns, Mathurā was an important religious centre of the Jains[15]. The Jains seem to have been firmly established in the city from the middle of the second century *B.C.* Many dedicatory inscriptions prove that the Jains were a flourishing community at Mathurā in the reign of Kaṇiṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva[16]. Buddhism gained ground in Mathurā in the very life-time of the Buddha through the efforts and active preaching of Mahākaccāyana who was one of the most distinguished apostles of the Buddhist faith. King Avantiputta of Mathurā is said to have been converted to Buddhism by Mahākaccāyana by his famous discourse on the caste-system sometime after the Buddha's demise[17]. The city where Buddhism was a

10. Cambridge History of India, I, p. 633.
11. Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, p. 158.
12. Rapson, Ancient India, pp. 142-3.
13. Law, Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes, I, p. 93.
14. Smith, Early History of India, p. 301.
15. Rapson, Ancient India, p. 174.
16. Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, I, p. 113.
17. Majjhima, II, pp. 83 ff.

predominant faith for several centuries, was a stronghold of Sarvāstivāda along with Sārnāth and Śrāvasti in the Kuṣān age. It was a centre of Kṛṣṇa worship as early as the time of Megasthenes (300 *B.C.*).[18] Vaiṣṇavism and Bhāgavatism found their place in this city. In the Śaka-Kuṣān period it had ceased to be the stronghold of Bhāgavatism.[19] Vāsudeva was a scion of the royal family of Mathurā [20]. The paucity of the Bhāgavata inscriptions at Mathurā probably indicated that Bhāgavatism did not find much favour at the royal court, because from the first century *B. C.* to the third century *A. D.* the people were usually Buddhists and were with a few exceptions not well disposed towards the religion of Vāsudeva [21]. In modern times, it is one of the sacred cities and its sanctity is very great. Buddha's influence in this city was felt to a certain extent. He was offered alms by a woman of Uttara-Madhurā [22]. Buddha frequented this locality and while proceeding from Mathurā to Veranji, he was worshipped by many householders [23]. Mathurā which is an important centre of both art and cult has given a tangible proof of the existence of Nāga worship in the form of a stone-slab, now in the Lucknow Museum, which bears an inscription in Brāhmi characters of the Kuṣān period. The cult of the Nāgas flourished at Mathurā side by side with Buddhism and Jainism during the Kuṣān preiod [24]. The existence of serpent worship at Mathurā is also supported by the Mathurā Nāga statuette inscription which is important in view of the story of Kāliyanāga and his suppression by Kṛṣṇa recorded in the Purāṇas.

The Jaina Āyāgapaṭas found at Mathurā cannot but be supposed to have a direct or indirect bearing on the later

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18. Cambridge History of India, p. 167.
19. Ray Chaudhury, Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect, p. 99. But a Brāhmi inscription edited by Dr. Luders (E.I. Vol. XXIV, p. 194) distinctly records the installation of the images of Pañcavīras, the five Bhāgavata deities headed by Baladeva, during the reign of Śoḍasa, son of the Śaka Kṣatrapa Rajuvula.
20. Uttara Madhura according to Ghata Jātaka.
21. Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect, p. 100.
22. Vimānavatthu Commentary, pp. 118-19.
23. Aṅguttara Nikāya, II, p. 57.
24. Nāga worship in ancient Mathurā by J. Ph. Vogel: A. S. I Annual Report, 1908—09. pp. 159-163.

Viṣṇpaṭas met with in Bengal and other places. The Bacchanalian scenes beneath an Aśōka tree freely sculptured in a stone supporting a bowl are still awaiting an explanation for their association with the Buddhist objects of worship[25].

The importance of Mathurā in the political history of India is to some extent great. Twenty-three Sūrasena kings of Mathurā are mentioned in the Vāyu Purāṇa as contemporaries of the future kings of Magadha.[26] The Sūrasena king of Mathurā in Buddha's time was called Avantiputta and was therefore almost certainly the son of a princess of Avanti[27]. Mathurā, the home of the Vrṣnis and Andhakas, was later evacuated by them.[28] Yudhiṣṭhira installed Vajranāva on the throne of Mathurā.[29] Sons and grandsons of king Sādhina ruled Mathurā.[30]

A local dynasty of kings or feudatory chiefs appears to have exercised sway over Mathurā in the time of the early Sunga-Mitra kings of Magadha. King Dhanabhūti I, of this dynasty, son of Āgaraju (Aṅgāradyut) and grandson of king Viśvadeva, erected the ornamental gateways at Bharhut in *circa* 100 *B.C.* in the dominions of the Suṅgas[31] while king Dhanabhūti II, evidently one of the successors of Dhanabhūti I, erected a Toraṇa-vedikā at a Buddhist stūpa at Mathurā[32].

Mathurā and Pañcāla continued to be included even in the dominions of the later Mitra kings whose coins (dubbed by Cunningham as "Pañcāla Series") were discovered at these places as also at Kumrāhār (Pāṭaliputra)[33]. Among the later Mitra kings, Indrāgnimitra, Brahmamitra and Bṛhaspatimitra are "definitely associated with Magadha in addition to other territories"

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25. Vasudeva S. Agrawala, New Sculptures from Mathurā, Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol. XI, Pt II, p. 67.
26. Chap. 99.
27. Cambridge History of India, I, p. 185
28. Brahma Purāṇa, Chap. 14, Sl. 54,; Harivamṣa, Chap. 37.
29. Bhāgavata Māhātmya, Chap. I.
30. Oldenberg, Dīpavmṣa, p. 27.
31. Barua & Sinha, Barhut Inscriptions, Nos. 1-3: Barua, Barhut, Bk. I, p. 29.
32. Cunningham, Stupa of Bharhut.
33. Cunningham, Coins, pp. 84-88; Allan, Catalogue pp. CXIX-CXX; Marshall, Archæological Survey, Report for 1907-08, p. 40; Bloch, A.S.R. 1908-09. p. 147.

and the rest, Bṛhatsvātimitra, Dharmamitra, Viṣṇumitra, Varuṇamitra and Gomitra, are connected with Kauśāmbī and Mathurā[34]. The Hatigumphā inscription of Khāravela records the fact of submission of Brahmamitra, the then king of Magadha, to Khāravela, the king—overlord of Kaliṅga, as well as the hurried retreat of a Greek king (Yavanarāja) whose name is read Dimita (Demetrios) by Sten Konow and Jayaswal.[35]

Menander[36], king of Kabul and the Punjab, conquered Mathurā[37]. Mathurā was governed by native princes whose names can be found on coins in the second century *B.C.* The Hindu Kings of Mathurā were finally replaced by Hagāna, Hagāmāsa Rājuvula and other Saka Satraps who probably flourished in or about the first century *A.D.*[38] This is corroborated by the epigraphic evidence which is confirmed and amplified by the numismatic evidence.

After the Śaka Kṣatrapas, the early Kuṣān kings, Kaṇiṣka I, Vāsiṣka, Huviṣka, Kaṇiṣka II, and Vāsudeva I, effectively exercised their suzerainty over Mathurā for over a century.[39] A splendid Buddhist monastery bearing the name of Huviṣka was built at Mathurā in the second century *A.D.*[40] The great Kuṣāns in Mathurā were succeeded by the Nāga kings who, according to the Purāṇas, established themselves at Mathurā as at other places. The Nāga rule continued right up to the time of Samudragupta whose all-India conquest gave a death-blow to the independence of the Nāgas.

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34. Barua, Gayā and Buddhagayā, Bk. I, p. 176. Political History Fourth Ed. pp. 334-335.

35. E.I. Vol. XX.

36. Many coins of Menander were discovered at Mathurā (R. D. Banerjee. Prāchīn Mudrā, p. 50). At the close of the third century the cast-coins were issued by the kingdom of Mathurā, some of which bear the names of local kings in Brāhmi script (Coins of India, Brown, p. 19). In the ruins of Mathurā many ancient copper coins along with the coins of Greek and Saka rulers were discovered (Prāchīn Mudrā, p. 105).

37. Smith, Early History of India, p. 199.

38. Smith, Early History of India, P. 227.

39. Ibid. Fourth edn. p. 273 ; Ray Chaudhuri, Op. cit. p. 388.

40. Ibid. p. 271.

PROTO-INDIC RELIGION

BY S. ŚRĪKAṆṬHA ŚĀSTRI, M.A.

IT is proposed to examine the nature and affinities of the Proto-Indian religion here, in the light of the seals, figurines and pottery discovered in the Indus Valley. Many of the seals can now definitely be taken to be amulets, since in the lowest levels at Harappa, miniature seals with legends have been discovered and they show that the seals were neither commercial receipts, historical documents, nor merely heraldic. The figurines also cannot be dismissed as toys, since Mackay thinks that the majority of them were used for worship [1]. The funerary pottery, as Mr. M. S. Vats has suggested [2], is decorated with scenes probably indicating the conception of the Indus people about a life after death. Hence our assumptions, that the seals were used as amulets, that the figurines were used as votive offerings and that the funerary pottery was used as throwing some light on the eschatology of the times, may not be far from truth.

Following the analytical method of Frankfort [3] we can roughly classify the seals as (*a*) decorative (*b*) representing action and (*c*) symbolical. It is not claimed that this division is exclusive and exhaustive, but it will be of use in making an objective approach to the problem, and where parallels are indicated, they are to be taken as tentative.

To the "decorative" class may be assigned :—

(*a*) Geometrical designs—the Maltese cross, svastika, intertwined-snake patterns, heart-shaped and kidney-shaped designs, mat and basket patterns, intersecting circles, house, ship, animal-pens, etc.

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1. Mackay. *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro*.
2. M. S. Vats. *Excavations at Harappa*.
3. Frankfort. *Cylinder Seals*.

(*b*) Deities—Lord of herds, goats or antelopes facing each other, nude figures, processions, hunting scenes, composite monsters, fighting animals; three-faced deity with horns, surrounded by animals; antelope heads springing from Pipal tree; multiple-headed animals.

" Religious action " is depicted as:—human beings worshipping a deity in centre; epiphany of a tree-deity; a goddess in a tree facing a tiger; a deity with horned head-dress and mask (?) of a bull or buffalo attacking a tiger; a deity with flower head-dress subduing two tigers; tiger trampling on a man; feeding elephants, buffaloes, tigers, oxen, rhinoceros etc; figurines of pregnant women, women lying on a couch, women with children and hands in front of the mouth; males kneeling or with stretched legs, hands lifted in adoration; females with head-dress supporting lamps or dishes: man bringing a duck, or leading a goat or bull towards a deity in a tree.

Secular and " symbolical " motifs are:—" astronomical " seals with symbols of the zodiac; horoscopes (?), the serpent, dove, fish, ram, bull, elephant, cat, monkey, parrot, peacock, duck, buffalo, lion, tiger, jugate heads, falcon with snakes, toy-carts, beads, etc. used as amulets; the cult-object before the bull; portrait-figurines of the priests: nude and clothed, dancing god and nautch girls, " Sumerian " heads; on funerary pottery, peacocks, fish, sun, eye, reeds, bulls, fishermen, crabs, tortoises, plants, lotuses, water-symbols; *linga*, *yōni*, chess-men, homo signs, gods, pottery-shapes, perforated pottery, symbols of divinity like horns, crown of plants, ornaments; cow and calf or goat and kid; animal file.

II

In Mesopotamia, the deities are always in human form. In the Indus culture however there are not more than a dozen divinities represented as human or semi-human beings. The crowned horn first appears in Sumer in the Jemdet Nasr period and not earlier, but in India horns are found from the earliest period. The Mother Goddess is represented only by her symbol in the Uruk period of Sumer, whereas in India figurines as well as the

mother-goddess symbol (the *yōni*) occur together. Again, the worship of animals, is alien to Mesopotamia. The sacred herd motif of Uruk and Jemdet Nasr periods is not found in the Indus seals in the same way showing that from the earliest traces of the Indus civilisation, it was predominantly an urban and not a pastoral civilisation. Moreover, though female figurines are found in such large numbers, they may be taken as votive offerings. Rather we may conclude that the Great God, the lord of beasts was the supreme deity and hence the worship of the Mother Goddess need not be taken as the predominant characteristic of the religion. It would be more natural to expect the cow rather than the bull figuring prominently, as in Sumer. Hence the worship of the Mother Goddess is no argument for asserting that the religion is non-Āryan; and female deities are also found in the Vēdic religion.[4]

Since most of the seals are amulets, we can assume that the symbols and figures have some reference to the various purposes to which they were applied. The most natural approach to the problem is therefore from the Atharva Vēda. I think that the usual views about this Vēda as far later in date than the other three or that it is the product of a different type of civilisation cannot be supported. The division of the Vēdas is merely from the utilitarian and pragmatic point of view. Further the Atharva Vēda embodies very old traditions and formulæ. Again we cannot ignore the basic fact that most of the Sūktas are attributed to the same seers as in the other three Vēdas. Whatever doubts may be roused as to the authorship of the hymns, Indian tradition has

4. *Ṛg.* I—5-22.

अग्ने पत्नीरिहावह देवानामुशतोरुप । त्वष्टारं सोमपीतये ॥

आग्ना अग्न इहावसे होत्रां यविष्ठ भारतीम् । वरूत्रीं धिषणां वह ॥

अभिनो देवीरवसामहः शर्मणा नृपत्नीः । अच्छिन्नपत्राः सचन्ताम् ॥

इहेन्द्राणीमुपह्वये वरुणानीं स्वस्तये । अग्नायीं सोमपीतये ॥

महीद्यौः पृथिवीचन इमं यज्ञं मिमिक्षिताम् । पिपृतां नो भरीमभिः ॥

तयोरिद घृतवत्पयो विप्रा रिहन्ति धीतिभिः । गन्धर्वस्य ध्रुवेपदे ॥

consistently held that the Ṛṣis who figure in the Atharva are the same as in the other three. As for the argument that the meanings of the seals are no longer self-evident and it is unsafe to be guided by later texts (granting that these texts are later), we should note that the ritual rather than the literary texts can be good guides. The ritual texts and their commentaries are accepted by Frankfort as possible clues to the seals, because they preserve the old traditions.

If we disabuse our minds of all imaginary reconstruction of Vēdic civilisation attempted by many scholars, we shall be able to make a nearer approach to the solution by analysing the seals and paintings on the funerary pottery and drawing parallels if not coincidences with the elements of the Atharvan civilisation.

(1) *The Sun-god.* In the Indus civilisation, the sun-god does not seem to have been represented in a human form. A deity under a bough with a head-dress of plants is more a vegetation deity. At the same time the Indus people could not have been uninterested in the solar phenomenon. Possibly the svastika, a circle with radiating lines, and the eye were the symbols employed. We find also the falcon. The eye, it is well-known, is connected with the sun—the all seer and giver of sight, to whom at the moment of death the sense of sight goes back. The falcon is the sun-bird, evolved from the sun's disc (*Suparṇō Garutmān*). Much has been written about the origin of the svastika[5] and one of the explanations is that it represents the movements of the sun. Whereas in Sumer the sun-god—the prototype of Shamash and Marduk—is represented as seated in a boat, with a saw to cut decisions, with a plough, a quadruped (a lion with a human face), and scorpion-men guarding the mountains of sun-rise and sun-set, in India we do not come across such a representation. The scorpion symbol in the script is no safe guide. The lion is a symbol of the sun because in later astrology Leo is the house of the sun.

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5. *Nirukta* (III-21) *Svastītyavināśa nāma.* Therefore the word Svasti at the beginning of the inscriptions translated as "Be it well" more appropriately means, 'This is indestructable, eternal' *i.e. āchandrārkasthāyi.* The Svastika is therefore the symbol of eternity.

In the Indus civilisation however, the tiger figures more prominently than the lion. The sun's chariot drawn by seven horses is also absent.

Another symbol of the sun is perhaps the bull as in Sumer. The fierce aspect of the sun is shown in the Sumerian seals as the Bull of Heaven whose body is filled with flames and whose onslaughts bring about a seven years' famine. The Ur seals show bulls whose bodies end in mountains (of the sun-god) watched by the guardians. A Susa seal has the sun-god rising between two couchant bulls. The Bull-man and Man-bull were later evolutions of the same theme. The Bull-Man is not Enkidu as assumed by previous scholars.

In the Vēdas, the terms *Vṛṣa* and *Mahiṣa* are applied to various deities. In the Atharva Vēda (XIII-2-43-44) Rōhita (sun) is addressed as the Bull arranging day and night; the sun is called the "earth filling bull (*mahiṣa*) compassing all." "With his horns he pushes the demon, with his eye slays ruin, with his ears hears what is best, the inviolable lord of Kine" (IX-4-17).

Mackay takes the six-rayed figure, one of the rays terminating with Urus head as a sun symbol. The hook-like rays have Cappadocian analogy. He says that in the Indus civilisation the people did not attach importance to the moon or stars being associated with an agricultual people. This is a feature, according to Sydney Smith of the religions of an agricultural population.

(2) *Fertility Gods.* A god under a curved structure is also found in Sumer. In the Indus seal the god is under a bough with leaves and on his head is a three-leaf ornament. It is possible that the resurrection of a vegetation deity is represented but the figure is not recumbent nor is there a goddess rousing it to life as in Sumer. The legend of Ishtar and Tammuz seems to be inapplicable. "Śiva" is of course a fertility god associated with vegetation as well as animals but he is essentially a forest deity and not usually connected with agricultural operations like Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma who are associated with cows and ploughs. The god

on the seal may be a type of Rudra who in the Atharva Vēda is said to shake down pestilence as from a bough from on high.[6]

Another type seems to be the god within a vase-like structure, to whom a man is offering a goat or bull in sacrifice. A third representation is possibly of the deity round whom seven pig-tailed figures (perhaps the seven Mothers) are going in procession. The three-faced deity seated on a couch, with the *linga* prominent, surrounded by animals, or adored by two human beings at whose back there are two serpents, may be taken as a fertility-god.

This figure may be the three-headed Mahēśamūrti and the antelope (ēṇa) below the seat may indicate a form of Śiva. If it is Agni, the affinity with Śiva is not excluded for Rudra is a form of the sacrificial Agni.[7] The horns are common to Agni, Varuṇa and other gods. In the Atharva, it is said that five species belong specially to Bhava and Śarva—the kine, horses, men, goats and sheep. Virūpākṣa a form of sacrificial Agni is also described in the Mantra Brāhmaṇa (II-4-6) as having prominent *dantas* (horns or teeth or tusks) and as seated on a *śayyā*.

विरूपाक्षोऽसि दन्ताञ्जिस्तस्यते शय्यापर्णे गृहान्तरिक्षे विमितं हिरणमयम् |
तद्देवानां हृदयान्यस्मये कुम्भे अन्तः सन्निहितानि ||

His two watchmen are Balabhṛt and Balasāt, and his other names are Samudra, Viśvavyachas, Tutha, Viśvavēdaṣ Śvātra, Prachētas, Sahasrākṣa and son of Brahman. In the later Buddhist tradition Virūpākṣa is the deity of the north-western quarter and associated with animals.

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6. मानोऽभिस्रामत्यं देव हेतिं मानः क्रुधः पशुपते नमस्ते |
अन्यत्रास्मद्दिव्यां शाखां विधूनु |' (*Atharva* XII.)

7. त्वमग्ने रुद्रोऽसुरो महोदिवः त्वं शर्धोमारुतं पृक्षईशिषे |
चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादाः etc.; हिरण्यशृङ्गं वरुणं प्रपद्ये
तीर्थं मे देहि याचितः ||
तवेऽमे पञ्च पशवो विभक्ता गावो अश्वा पुरुषा अजावयः ||

In the Atharva [8], the Vrātya book described the Vrātya as the supreme Brahman. Chanda, Whitney, Bloomfield, Roth and others have come to the conclusion that because in the later Dharmaśāstras the Vrātya is described as an out-sider, a man of mixed origin and of peculiar dress and habits, he represents a civilisation alien to the Āryans. But before endorsing such a conclusion we should note that the deity of this book (Atharva XV) is adhyātmaka and no Ṛṣi is mentioned as the seer. Further, as Whitney pointed out the Cūḻikā Upaniṣad says that the Brahmachārin, Skambha, Palita and Vrātya are all forms of Brahman. We cannot therefore assert that Brahmacharya and Sannyāsa were alien conceptions [9]. The Vrātya is specially associated with the various forms of Śiva. He stirred up Prajāpati who saw in himself *suvarṇa* which he generated. That became One, *star* marked (– °*lalāma*) ; it was Tapas, it was Satya. From it he created Prajā. He became the Great God (Mahādēva) and Īśāna, the sole Vrātya and took up Indra's bow (the rainbow) with its blue belly and red back to destroy enemies.

He is seated on a *vipatha* (many pāths or the rude chariot), drawn by *vāha* (horses or mules ?), and driven by a charioteer Vāyu. He is surrounded by foot-men (*pariskanda*), harlots, Māgadhas, and fore-runners. He wears a garment, a turban, two *pravartas* (round ornaments), long hair and holds a goad (*pratoda*). His amulet (*maṇi*) is the *kalmaḻi*.

The Vrātya stood erect and therefore the gods provided him with an *āsandī*. It has four feet, and lengthwise and cross pieces and cords like a charpoy. On it were placed an *āstarana* (a coverlet),

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8. Whitney and Lanman. *Atharva Vēda* (Harvard), Caland, *Pancha Vimśa Brahmaṇa* XVII. p. 454. *Bib. Ind.* (See also Note 2 to follow).

9. For yōga in *Ṛg* Vēda :—

योगे योगे तवस्तरं वाजे वाजे हवामहे । सखाय इन्द्रमूतये ॥

(1-6-30-8)

यस्मादृते न सिध्यति यज्ञो विपश्चितश्चन । सधीनां योगमिन्वति ॥

(1-5-19-8)

upabarhana (pillow ?) *upaśraya* (support) and a seat.[10] He ascended it, surrounded by the Gods as footmen, messengers (*prahāyya*) and all beings as the *upasads* (waiters ?).

In the fifth *paryāya* which is *Rudradēvatāka*, it is said that his attendants were the divine archers Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Rudra, Mahādēva and Īśāna. A knowledge of this will protect a man and his cattle from the attacks of *tigers* and other wild animals. (*The Anukramaṇika* adds—*hinasti vyāghrādishvava gantavyah*).

The Vrātya must be honoured by the king and the Brāhmaṇa house-holder. This indicates that he was *parivrājaka* and therefore superior even to the *gṛhastha Brāhmaṇa*. That there were imposters who called themselves monks is indicated in VI-13-6. These, bearing a Brāhmaṇa name only, were perhaps of non-Brāhmaṇa origin who assumed monkish dress.

Vrātya is connected with *Vrata* and *Vrāta*, the first indicating the observation of penance and ritual and the second being of an institutional character. It is said (*Atharva* VIII and IX *Paryāyas* of Book XV), that he moved towards the Viśā and was followed by the assembly, gathering, army, strong drink and kinsmen.

Some of these characteristics are found in the three-faced deity on the seals. He is seated on an *āsandi* whose legs seem to terminate as bull legs, perhaps to indicate motion. He wears an elaborate turban (?) (*ushīṣa*) and horns. The word *ushṇīṣa* is perhaps connected with uksha (a bull). The pendant on his chest is perhaps the amulet *kalmali* and the round ornaments

10. See also the description of the royal throne with threads (*Ai. Br.* VIII-12). The *āsandī* is also mentioned as a kind of throne in the bridal hymn (XIV-2-65) aud in the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII-5-6-12). Whitney conjectured it to be a lounging chair or bed. It had a cushion (*upadhāna*) and *upavāsana* (coverlet). Dīgha Nikāya (II-23) with Buddhaghōsha's commentary, says it was used to carry corpses as a bier by four bearers. Hāla mentions *āsandi* as a *khaṭva* or *paryankikā* (cot or palaunquin). The *Pancha Vimśa* (V-5-1) has āsandi equal to talpa of *Tai. Br.* (1-2-6-5.)

pravartas[11]. The prominent *membrum virile* perhaps indicates the text "he stirred up Prajāpati". The animals around the figure—the elephant, tiger, rhinoceros, buffalo and deer are wild animals. Probably, apart from the deer which is perhaps the vehicle, the purpose of the seal is to invoke the protection of the Vrātya as Śarva, Bhava, and Īṣāna on the road (of the bride on her journey to her husband's house) or on the path to heaven (*Atharva* XV-5).

The deity, though not so probably, may be Tvāshtṛa Triśiras Viśvarūpa as the "fashioner". His three heads were struck off, one became the hazel-cock (*kapinjala*), another the sparrow (*kalavinka*), the third the partridge (*tittiri*).

विश्वरूपो वैत्वाष्ट्रः पुरोहितो देवानामासीत् । स्वस्रीयः असुराणाम् ।
तस्य त्रीणि शीर्षाण्यासन् । सोमपानं सुरापानं अन्नादनम् ॥

Tait. Sam. II-5-1.)

Agni is also called three-faced but his vehicle is Avi (ram) or Aja (goat) and not an antelope. He is also two-headed and with four horns (*chatvāri Sṛmgā...dvē sirshē*).

Phallic emblems.—The *linga* and the ring-stones are supposed to be fertility emblems. The pedestals with trefoil pattern on them are taken by Mackay to be the base of the *linga*. Two large cones at Mohenjo Daro are taken to be lingas. M. S. Vats reports that at Harappa in Stratum III (6′-5″) six lingas with shell ornaments, a unicorn seal, five stone pestles, stone palette, and a block of chalcedony were found in a jar. The biggest specimen, 17.5 inches tall and 9 inches in diameter was found in the highest levels. Another linga sixteen inches high was found in the fourth stratum. Many conical baetyls were found with the *yōni* indicated round the body by broad bands upto two-fifths of the linga. The

11. The Aitareya Brahmaṇa says that the serpent sage *Arbuda Kādrāvēya*, introduced the *grāvāstut*, who praised wearing a turban and with eyes tied up. The *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (XVIII-1-2) mentions the *ushṇisā*, *pratōda* and *vipatha*, and also a bow without arrow, a black cloth with a black hem, the black turban worn slanting and a silver *niṣka* as characteristcs of the Vrātya. For Vipatha. compare the sacred wagon Apema at Ephesus and *hamaxa* a war chariot also used as a family wagon.

Siddhānta Sārāvaḷi of Trilōchana Śivācārya prescribes the *piṇḍikā lakṣaṇa* as *bhagākṛti*. The ring-stones have not that form nor the *gōmukha*. Moreover I do not think that any specimen of a linga affixed to the base has been discovered; always separated. The top of the linga may be in the form of a half-moon, a tripuṣa (gourd), egg (*aṇḍa*), and umbrella (*chatra*). The *rēkhā* at the top of the linga does not seem to be indicated in the specimens, but this is not obligatory for *ratna*, *lōha*, *bāṇa* and *chala* lingas. These specimens nearly one and a half foot high could not have been worn on the body. The bāṇa linga may vary in height from a māṣa to a hasta. The piṇḍikas are divided into three parts of Gaurī, Manōnmanī and Lakṣmī as the Śakti dēvatas. If in the Indus specimens the yōni is indicated only upto two-fifths of the linga—this is unusual, though not improbable. As regards the conjecture that *Śiśna dēvāh* refer to these Indic people, Rajwade may be right in taking *śiśna* to mean not the phallus or the tail in Ṛg. I-105-8, but as balls of flour out of which images were made. *Śiśnāh* also means limbs or bricks (*Nirukta* IV—5.)

God of vegetation and animals :—We have already refered to several deities surrounded by animals and seated in trees etc. The god seated in a tree and pointing towards a feline looking back at him can be taken as man caught in a forest and taking refuge in a tree. The scenes of hunting a buffalo or bison on a Harappa seal may be a ritualistic representation of a sacred hunt (*mṛgayā yātra*). As already pointed out a resurrection of a vegetation-deity is not a part of the Indus religion. The deities with a tre-foil or sprigs of leaves on the heads may be vegetation deities, but another explanation will be indicated when we refer to the seals as amulets.

The fear of wild animals is clearly seen in the spells of the Atharva Vēda. Of particular interest are the seals where the tiger is depicted. The tiger is shown as trampling on a man or being fed, or being wrestled with by a naked hero with a plumed head-dress. In the Atharva (XII-1-49) the Earth goddess is invoked to drive away the wild beasts of the woods (*aṛṇya paśu*), lions, tigers, jackals (*ulā* ?), wolf, misfortune, *ṛkṣīka* (*bears* ?) and demons. The deity may be a form of Śiva who killed Vyāghrāsura but it is more likely

that the seal is an amulet. Therefore it is interesting to note that the Ṛṣi Atharvan is called the Tiger-slayer (*Vyāghra jambhana*).

Another god with bangled arms is shown as separating (?) two humans who have uprooted trees. Probably the stealing of some sacred tree or herb is indicated.

To protect domestic animals from the attack of wild ones, a stake of *khadira* wood is taken up and buried following the kine with this charm (IV-3).

Up from here have stridden the three,—tiger, man and wolf; since hey! (*hiruk*) go to the rivers, hey! the divine forest-tree, hey! let the foes bow!.

Both thy eyes (*akṣan*) and thy mouth (*mukha* or *hanu*) O! tiger!, we grind up; then all thy twenty claws (*nakhas*).

The tiger, first of creatures with teeth, do we grind up . . . .

Ruined (*mūrṇa*) be the teeth of the beast (*mṛga*).

What thou contractest (*samyama*) mayest thou not protract (*viyama*). Mayest thou protract what thou dost not contract. Indra born, Soma born art thou, an Atharvan Tiger crusher. The Paippalāda version for the first line is यत्सन्नसो वियन्नसो नसं नस·।

Evidently the *Khadira* wood was associated with the Ṛṣi Atharvan and considered as efficacious against tigers. The Paippalāda has an extra verse.

परमेण पथा वृकः परेण स्तेनो र(अ)र्षतु ।
ततो व्याघ्रः परमा ॥

The flesh-eating fire is also symbolised as a tiger. "Agni kravyāda entered into this man, he has gone after the flesh eating one. Having made two tigers severally, I take him who is other than propitious" (XII-2-43). Other unlucky things like the first two upper teeth of a baby are compared to tigers. The unlucky day of Jyēṣṭha and Mūla nakṣatras is called the Tiger day (VI-110-3).

Goddesses of fertility:—The seals and figurines show that the goddess was a popular figure but there is no clear evidence that a female deity was held to be superior to the male. No doubt the

female figurines are more numerous but since females are more prone to superstition the votive figurines are found in greater numbers. Moreover if Śakti worship was the main feature, there would at least have been more depictions of a goddess not in a subordinate capacity but as being adored by men and beasts, just as the "Śiva" figure is shown. Mackay conjectures that the pottery figurines are not votive offerings deliberately mutilated, but house-hold deities which were thrown away when accidentally mutilated. But it is difficult to accept this because the figures of pregnant women, holding children etc. must have been thanks offerings. Again the "*dīpa-lakṣmi*" type of figures could not have been the main objects of worship. Others have small spikes on the top of the head-dress, perhaps to support a dish of offerings. Others again must have been the proto-types of female demons, deliberately pierced or mutilated and painted red to simulate blood.

The head-dresses of these figurines are of interest.[12] There are few simple *ushṇīṣas* or turbans. Some have a horned object on the head, the two hands raised to support it. It seems to have been made of some soft material. The fan-shaped head-dress with pannier-like additions to it, supported by a band round the forehead, must have been a copy of some actual head-dress for ritual. One figurine has a conical cap with a drooping top, perhaps for a tassel, resembling Hittite caps.[13] Some females have spikes of flowers between horns and long pig tails. The votaries around the tree-goddess (?) have long pig tails.

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12. Pre-Maurya terra cotta figurines (of Pātalīputra, Buxar, Mathura, Basra), have the kaparda on the right, left or in front (*puraśchūḍa* ?) for males. Females have kaparda in 2, 3 or 4 plaits—no four plaits as in *Ṛg* X-10-1. *Ōpaśa* of the band-type, horn-type, and volute-type ; *kumba* and *kurira*—head covering with raised plait of hair and a band round the head ; at Buxar ; the female's under shirt of wool *Śamulya* with apron like drapery ; also female head-dresses like a bandage round the head and crown-like. (M. Ghosh-*VII Or. Con. p.707. Banerji Sastri Pāṭhaka Com. Vol.*)

13. The moon goddess in proto-Greek civilisation derived from Anatolia had a horned cap resembling an oxhead. In *Ṛg*. VII-2-23 the kaparda on the right, characteristic of the Vasiṣthas is mentioned. *Ṛg*. VII-5-83 mentions white robed Tṛtsus with braided hair. *Chatuṣkaparda* (four braids) of women (*Ṛg*, X-10-114.)

In the Atharva Vēda the types of head-dresses mentioned are :—

(1) The *tirīṭin*. To guard pregnant women against demons, the *Atharva Paddhati* prescribes a talisman in the form of a doll made of red and yellow mustard plants, reaching from the woman's neck to the navel. Kēśava however prescribes an amulet of white and yellow mustard (*bajā* ?). Atharva (Book VIII-6-7) has this spell.

" He who lies with (*nipad*) thee in sleep, having become like a brother and father,—them *eunuch* formed, tiara-decked (tirītin), let the *bajā* expel from here."

In the Paippalāda version it is *kiriṭin*. It must have been a distinctive woman's dress according to Whitney.

(2) *Kurīra*, *Kumba*, and *Ōpaśa*. In the spell to make a man impotent, wrapping, crushing and burying his urine and fæces (VI-138), a plant is used.

O herb, make this man impotent, *ōpaśa*-wearing. Make him impotent, *ōpaśa* wearing, *kurīra* wearing, split his testicles.

Impotent I have made thee, the *Kurīra* and the *kumba* we set upon his head.

The commentator says that the ōpaśa is the mark of a woman (*strī vyanjana*) and *kurīra* is explained as *keśa* (hair). A similar passage in the *Taittirīya Samhita* (IV-1—5) has

सिनीवाली सुकपर्दा सुकुरीरास्वौपशा ।

In the *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (X-9-5) it is prescribed अत्न पत्नी शिरसि कुम्ब कुरीर मध्यूहते· *Kurira* is taken as hair tresses (*kēśajāla*) and is perhaps connected with the Dravidian *Kural* (hair curls). It is also taken as a hair-net of sheep's wool. *Kumba* is its ornament (*ābharaṇa*), a circular bamboo rim. Geldner thought that *ōpaśa*, *kurīra* and *kumba* all mean " horn ".[14] Perhaps the horned head-dress is implied. Whitney conjectures kumba as a head ornament distinctive of women. It is perhaps

14. The *ōpaśa* seems to have resembled the matting, covering the roof of a house. " The thousand-eyed net *(akṣu)* stretched out *like an Opaśa on the viṣūvant* (division line), tied down, put on, do we with prayer unfasten." (IX-3-8). *J.B.O.R.S.* XVII p. 26.

significant that the *tirītin*, *ōpaśa*, *kurīra* and *kumba* are mentioned in connection with eunuchs and impotent men. These figurines may have been employed in such sexual charms. In the nuptial ceremony of Sūryā (XIV-1-8) *kurīra* and *ōpaśa* of the girl along with an ornament *pratidhi* are mentioned.

The pig-tails[15] of the goddesses and the votaries have interesting analogies. Langdon points out that the figures of prisoners with pig-tail tonsure at Kish are totally different from the Sumerian or Semetic.[16] "It follows that the Jemdat Nasr civilisation is the original Sumerian civilisation and came from India, bringing a script which they almost entirely abandoned in favour of the one found already in the land, the so-called Sumerian picto-graphic script." Braided hair is mentioned in the Vēdas frequently. Nirṛiti is golden-haired (*Ath.* V-7-9). The use of healing plants for increasing and fastening the hair is advocated (VI-21). The Śamī plant of great leaves is gracious to the hair (VI-30). But in Āyurvēda the *śamī* fruit is called *kēśa mathinī* (injuring the hair). Śamī is now identified with *Prosopis spicigera* or *Mimosa suma*; but these two do not seem to correspond to the Atharvan Śamī of great leaves. The goddess Sinīvālī has broad braids. She is called the sister of the gods and mistress of the people, a thousand braided goddess, the spouse of Viṣṇu (*Ath.* VII-48. *Ṛg.* II 32-6-7). This also applies to Anumatī. Dishevelled locks were considered inauspicious as of comets, meteors and professional wailers at funerals.

Let not the women of dishevelled locks, let not the evil wailers wail for thee. (Ath. VIII-1-19.)

In the marriage ceremony, the bride is bathed and combed with an artificial hundred-toothed comb (*kankata*, *kanṭaka*, or *kankada*). In the figurines two coils are shown as falling on the shoulders or a stiff plait hanging at the back. The seven votaries wearing a sort of kilt or skirt with long pig-tails and sprigs of plants on their heads are shown at the bottom. Another pig-tailed figure is kneeling before a pig-tailed tree-goddess (?)

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15. ***Excavations at Kish*** Vol. I pl. 36-39.
16. ***J.R.A.S.*** 1931 July, p. 593.

in a Pipal, along with a goat with human face. Mackay suggests the resemblance to the seven twin daughters of Bau of Sumer, Sītala and her six sisters, and to the seven mothers. In the Atharva, the *aśvattha* is said to be the home of the Gandharvas and Apsarases. For the *Gāndharvī Mahāśānti*, the herb *ajasṛingī* (*Odina pinnata*) is used in exorcising the Apsaras and Gandharvas.

Where the *aśvattha*, *nyagrōdha*, great trees with crests (*śikhaṇḍinah*)—there go ye Apsaras. (*Ath.* IV-37-4).

The word *śikhaṇḍin* is taken by the commentator as peacocks. The Gandharvas are again called dancing, crested (*śikhaṇḍin*). Probably peacocks were also the abode of the Gandharvas and peacock feathers were worn on the head. The *aśvattha* and *nyagrōdha* are the homes of the Gandharvas according to the *Taittariya Samhita* (IV-2-5).

चातयमानाः अश्वत्थेवः निषदनम् पर्णेवः वसतिः
कृतागोभाज इत्किलासथ ॥

The Parṇa wood is also connected with the seven Maruts.

ब्रह्मवैपर्णः विट्मरुतः अन्नं विट्मारुतोऽश्वत्थः

(*Tai-Sam* III-5-7).

The seven figures may be the Sapta Ṛṣis and the ceremonial is perhaps indicated in Atharva I-31, and IV-15, where it is said that Prajāpati mahāśānti should be performed to bring about rain, on the occasions of *upatārakas* (meteors ?) inundations and floods and the obscuration of seven seers (Saptarṣi Nakṣatras). A dance was performed calling upon Tādurī, Khaṇvakhā, Khaimakhā, Pitṛs and Maruts, perhaps like the dance of the slave girls round the Mārjāliya fire, with new water pots, calling out *Haimahā* 3.

उदकुम्भानधिनिधाय दास्यः मार्जालीयं परिनृत्यन्ति
पदनिघ्नतीः इदं मधुं गायन्त्यः मधुवै देवानां परममन्नाद्यम्

(*Tai. Sam* VII-5-10).

Inundations were to the Indus people perhaps greater dangers than drought. Mohenjo Daro seems to have suffered from at least three floods. Mackay says that the flood level at Kish is not

contemporaneous with the Ur flood level but is the contemporary of the second flood at Mohenjo Daro in the late third phase, ten feet below the datum. The Atharva, it should be noted, considers the Indus as the mightiest of the rivers, though Varanāvatī and Yamunā are mentioned. It may even be that the bull is the symbol of this river. In the marriage hymn (XIV-43) it is said "Vṛṣhā Sindhu won the supremacy of the streams. So thou be *samrājinī* in thy husband's home." The seven Ṛṣis were somehow connected with the floods and also comets or meteors. "The star with dishevelled hair" bringing affliction is mentioned in the hymn to the Brahmajāyā (V-17-4) which is also used for averting the consequences of the fall of meteors.

Misfortunes on the village of which they say "this is a star with dishevelled hair"—as such the Brahmajāyā burns up the kingdom, where has gone forth a hare (śaśa) accompanied by meteors (*ulkuṣī*).

The falling "stars" seem to have been identified with the seers (*munis*) who were the friends of the gods and witnessed everything when falling from heaven, according to Rājwāde.

अन्तरिक्षेण पतति विश्वरूपावचाकशत् ।
मुनिर्देवस्य देवस्य सौकृत्याय सखाहित: ॥

(*Ṛg.* X-136-4)

Another fertility goddess is perhaps the seated female, perhaps the Earth goddess from whose navel a creeper is growing.[17] If Rājwade is right, earthly gods called Ūmāh are also mentioned in the Ṛgvēda.

उरौवायेऽन्तरिक्षेमदन्ति दिवोवा येरोचने सन्तिदेवा: ।
ऊमावाये सुश्वासो यजत्रा आयेमिरे रथ्यो अग्ने अश्वा: ॥

(Ṛg. III-6-8).

Perhaps corresponding to these earth deities is Śākambhara or Śākadhūma. Śākadhūma is taken literally to mean dung smoke which gives birth to a kind of demon.

17. In the seal no. 304 (Excavations at Harappa—M. S. Vats), there is no clear indication that the figure is that of a woman, nor does the object attached to the stomach resemble a plant but is more like a tortoise.

Of whom the front feet are behind, the heels in front, faces in front, born of the threshing floor and dung-smoke, who are Uruṇḍas (or Aruṇḍas) and Maṭmaṭas, pot-testicled Ayāśas—we cause to disappear by *pratibōdha*, O Brahmaṇaspati! (*Ath.* VIII-6-15)

The Paippalāda has Śakadhuma. Again in a charm to avert the evil effects of portents like the lunar eclipse etc. the dung-balls are placed on the joints of a Brāhmaṇa who is asked "what sort of day?" The Brāhmaṇa who is the personification of Agni replies "Very favourable".[18]

"When the asterisms made Śakadhūma their king, they bestowed on him the auspicious day (*bhadra*) saying 'This shall be his royalty'". The Paippalāda version is:—

यद्राजानं शकधूमं नक्षत्राण्यकृणुत ।
भद्राहमस्मै प्रायच्छन् ततो राष्ट्रीमजायत ।

Bloomfield[19] took Śakadhūma to be a weather-prophet. Whitney conjectures that the Milky Way, the king of nakṣtras is probably meant, and that from the dung-smoke going up a fore-cast of the weather was made.

But it is probable that Śāka and Śaka mean vegetation. The female counterpart of the earth and vegetation god is perhaps Umā, Śākambharī, A-parṇā—later the names of Gaurī-Pārvati. In Sumer Mari etc. the Goddess with an overflowing vase or plough is identified with the Inanna (later Ishtar), the queen of Eanna. She has a horned head-dress and plants are shown sprouting from her shoulders. Standing on a mountain she was perhaps the goddess of war and seated on bricks with an overflowing vase, as on the seal of the servant of Naram-Sin, she is also a goddess of fertility. At Mari the goddess is entirely naked but with a turban and in another form she holds a streaming vase with fish depicted. In India the flowing vase motif does not occur. Nor is there the

18. Even now stories are current about Brāhmaṇas who extended the left hand for receiving royal gifts. When questioned as to the appropriateness of this, the Brāhmaṇas being *āhitāgnis*, put some cow-dung cakes on their right hand and smoke and flames began to spring up.

19. Bloomfield. Hymns from the Atharva Veda. (S.B.E.)

interceding goddess bringing the devotee before the chief God. Evidently in domestic worship in India a priest as a mediator was not necessary, except perhaps in witch-craft. The Indian female figurines are never entirely nude except the two bronze dancing girls.

The Virgin :—A figure of a girl with small breasts, but with a skirt and girdles may represent the Kanyā-Kumari type (*Korê*).

The Mātṛka type :—There is no figurine which can definitely be identified with the goddess as the mother. The pregnant females with children, and the right hand lifted to the mouth represent votaries rather than the principle goddess.

The Warrior-Goddess :—The proto-Indians seem to have been pacifists and there are few representations of a fighting goddess. The deities fighting with animals may have amuletic and medicinal value. A human figure with feet and tail of a bull is struggling with a horned tiger. Mackay considers the figure to be female. A woman with tiger's body, but with human forelegs and two spiral horns with a spike of flowers between them and a long pig tail may be the counter-part of Durgā.

Water-Goddess :—As pointed out there is not any representation of a goddess with a flowing vase. But since the public baths and wells are so prominent and since the people depended on and also were afraid of the inundations of the Indus, some form of the water goddess must have existed. Perhaps her symbols were the fish, the tortoise, *ghariyal*, nāga and spouted vases. The snake over the heads of some figures may also have represented waters.

Dragon god :—In Mesopotamia a god on a dragon occurs frequently. The Hydra and Hercules theme reached Greece through Syria and Anatolia. The Hurrian Tishpak supported by a dragon and with a fire altar before him displaced Nin-azu as the weather god at Eshnunna (Tell Asmar). A seal at Tell Asmar has a god or worshipper, holding a kamanḍulu-like pot, and with a snake on his head. Behind the figure there are intertwining snakes. The Leviathan theme is also found in the Ras Sharma texts. On the Kassite seals, the winged dragon with bird-like hind legs, tail and mouth is found. The weather god Adad (?) holding

a *triśūla* (triple lightning ?) or a whip (*kaśā*) is standing on a fire-spitting dragon or in a chariot drawn by dragons. Schott identifies the dragon with the constellation Ukatukha, assigned to Nergal of Pestilence.

Frankfort points out that the earliest symbol of the storm-god was the whip and not the thunder-bolt. The god at Baal Bek had a whip; so also Jupiter, a form of Hadad of Syria and Adad of Mesopotamia. Furlani takes the whip to be a solar symbol. The three-tongued lightning came from Syria to Mesopotamia in Hammurabi's time. In the time of Adad Nirari the whip was the symbol of lightning. Probably the whip of the goat-herds was translated. In the Iliad (II-782) the whip and the lightning are mentioned as separate emblems of Jupiter. Jupiter Heliopolitanus has a whip in his hand. Jacob Stähl thinks that the forked lightning symbol as the more original form of stylised fire. In any case the three-pronged lightning is of Syrian extraction and appeared in the period of the Amorites and first Dynasty of Babylon; until then the whip was the only symbol.[20]

The whip was perhaps a whip of snakes or scorpions. In India the storm-gods Indra, Maruts and Rudra have the whip, the thunder-bolt and the *triśūla*. The honey-whip of Asvins is mentioned.

या वां कशा मधुमती अश्विना सूनृतावती ।
तया यज्ञं मिमिक्षितम् ॥ (*Tait. Sam.* IV-7.)

The triśūla of the Pauraṇic Śiva may repesent the thunder-bolt of Rudra (*hēti*) or since Rudra is a form of Agni, the flames of the three sacred fires. Dragons are of course associated with Indra and Rudra (*Vṛtra*, *Ahi* and *Nāga*). On the Indus seals, hooded

20. Pausanius says that in Greece Zeus was represented as a pyramid and Artemis as a column. This seems to be a reversal of the usual triangle symbol to represent a goddess and the pillar to represent the god. At Byblos and in Mesopotamia many representations of a pyramid on the back of a bull are found. The pyramid originally represented the Hittite god on a bull (Sandon) whose descendant is Zeus Dolichenos. In the Phrygian mysteries "the Bull is the father of the serpent and the serpent the father of the Bull". (*Ramsay*).

serpents and intertwined snakes are found. A lozenge-shaped seal at Harappa has a falcon between two snakes. The enemity between the snakes and eagles is also indicated in the Myth of Etana. On a copper tablet of Mohenjo-Daro an animal with horns and elephant-trunk has a tail ending like a snake. On the whole, we can say that the Nāga was not worshipped separately. The snake-symbol had only an amuletic purpose. No images of snakes apart from amulets have been found.

The Caduceus, the snake coil and hydra occur as very early themes in Mesopotamia. The snake coil is found on a Jemdet Nasr seal. The copulating vipers represent Ningiszida. The snake coil has sometimes two heads or a head and a tail. At Fara there is a tortoise at the snake's head. In the Boghaz-Keui monuments, the coils of Vrtra are shown. In Babylonia the worship of animals was unknown. But at Khafaje a bull in a temple shows Indian influence. Similarly at Khafaje and Tell Asmar (*Ill. L. News*: Sep. 5. 1936) pots placed on the floor, and decorated with snakes, tortoises and scorpions were discovered. Frankfort conjectures that living snakes were kept and fed with birds and small animals. A saucer for water was also placed inside the pots. If living snakes were worshipped in the Indus Valley they may have been kept in the so-called cages of pottery or in the perforated vessels. But no remains of snakes in the pots have been discovered. We are in doubt as to whether even the ant-hill was then worshipped.

The bull or buffalo-headed goddess:—One seal at Harappa (Vats. No. 319) has a buffalo-headed goddess alone. We have already refered to a similar bull-headed goddess the head, tail and legs of the bovine subduing a tiger (?) with two feathery horns, besides an acacia (?). In the seal of Lugalanda and his wife Baranamtara, a similar goddess but with one curling horn and pig-tail is attacking a lion which has seized a bull man (bearded), by the fore-leg while an eagle (Imdugud) is shown hovering above. The story of Enkidu is not applicable. In the Epic of Gilgamesh, Enkidu is described as covered with hair in long tresses like a woman and the garb of Sumukan, the lord of cattle. He hunted the lions raiding the sheep-folds and catching jackals. He was the warden of the sheep-folds. His name means the lord of the place of abundant recreative

force. He was at first hardly human and only after intercourse with the hetaera he became human. Gilgamesh and Enkidu wrestled with each other and became friends. They kill an Elamite demon and the Bull of Heaven sent by Ishtar. Enkidu dies and Gilgamesh goes in search of the plant of life. Utanapishtim narrates the story of the Flood. Gilgamesh meets Enkidu in the under-world and is told of its desolation. Even in Mesopotamia there is no seal connected with the epic by an inscription. The human-headed bull has a beard and is of the aurochs type with one horn and girth at Fara. The bull-man may be twin and in the Early Dynastic period he is exclusively a slayer of lions. In the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur, he has a horned crown. Terra-cotta figurines of the bearded naked hero and the Bull-man were called *Talim* (Twins or companions), to be burried in the corners of court-yards to protect the house from evil influences. Therefore there is no parallel with the Indian Bull-headed goddess. Mackay suspects that the horned bull masks found at Mohenjo Daro were suspended in the houses to avert ill-luck, like the metal masks of Ur, Kish and Susa.

Coddess with Doves :—A horned female figurine at Mohenjo Daro has four birds, probably doves, on the head.[21] At Harappa the dove models are invariably whistle "*ghuggu*" of modern Punjab. There is also the flying dove which may be amuletic. The dove-goddess naturally invites comparison with Crete and Mesopotamia. In the Akkadian ritual, the burning up of Quingu and cutting up of Tiamat are indicated by cutting the throat of a sheep and placing it in an oven and by killing a pigeon. Evidently Tiamat or female Chaos was represented by a pigeon. In India also the dove was considered to be a bird of ill-omen, the messenger of perdition (Nir̥ti). In the R̥g Vēda (X-165) and Atharva (VI—27, 28, 29), we have spells against birds of ill-omen.

Seeking what, O Gods! the sent dove, the messenger of Nir̥ti hath come hither, we remove.

Propitious be the sent dove and hawk? (*śakuna*)

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21. A female figurine in the Patna Museum has three holes on the head, probably for inserting a head-dress (?)

Let not the dove injure us.

The Ṛg Vēda has:—

शं नो गोभ्यश्च पुरुषेभ्यश्चास्तु मानोहिंसीद् इह देवाः कपोतः ॥

With this Ṛç drive away the dove; revelling in food, we lead the cow about breaking up the tracks, hard to go.

(A cow and fire are taken three times round the house. परोमेगामनेषत पर्यग्निमहृषत *Ṛg.* X—165-5.)

The owl uttering, the dove making track at the fire; in Yama's house they may look upon thee as sapless and empty (अभूक).

Atharva VII—66 is also a charm against black-birds (*Kṛṣṇa śakuni*) of evil omen.

The Pārāvatas [22] were an alien people who were killed by Sarasvati (*Ṛg.* VI-61-2). Pārāvata occurs also as the name of a king, the enemy of the Āryas (*Ṛg.* VIII-10-100-6).

त्रिश्वेत्तात सवनेषु प्रवाच्याया चकर्थमघवन्निन्द्रमन्वत ।

पारावतं यत्पुरुसंभृतं वस्वपावृणाः शरभाय ऋषिबन्धवे ॥

In the Bṛhaddēvatā (X-57-59) it is said that Subandhu was the priest of king Asmāti of the Ikṣvāku race and was discarded. Bandhu and others of the Atri clan were displaced by Kirāta and Ākuli who became two pigeons (*kapōta*) and harassed the Gaupāyanas by their yōga. Subandhu was however restored by the

22. Hillebrandt identified Straba's *Parouetai* with the Pārvatas. The Pārvatas of the Vēdas were not hostile to the Āryans, whereas the Pārvatas were. Oppert connects the Brahuis with Parata or Parada of the Purāṇas and with Pārāvars of the Tamil country, Paravaris in Mahārāśtra and the Parahe in Palamum. He also assumed that the Brahuis or Paratas to be the same as the Bharatas. The Brahuis are assumed to be Dravidians, Scythians, Tartars, Arabs, Iranians, etc. according to the fancies of the scholars. They are also connected with the Jadgals or Jats. Ba-rohi is supposed to mean a hill in Persian and therefore the Brahuis were hill-men. Their own traditions assert that they came from Aleppo in two clans Sagdi (Sagtai of the Greeks) and Saga (Śaka). The linguistic resemblence to Dravidian is perhaps due to late maritime contact. There seems to be no doubt as to their foreign origin racially.

Gaupāyanas and again became the priest of Asmāti. Therefore the *pārāvata* and *kapōta* were unlucky birds.

In Crete [23] the worship of the Mother goddess [24] was connected with snakes and doves. Pendlebury thinks that living snakes were kept in tubular vessels, bowls, handleless jugs, etc. A low tripod table had a ring in the centre, with four grooves along the edge for a snake-party. A pierced vessel like a honey-comb with a snake crawling on it and two small jugs with snakes on them show the prevalence of the worship of the living snake apart from the snakes held in the hands of the goddess. She also holds a dove in her palm and a man is bringing her a dove for sacrifice. Two votaries also hold snakes. On one of the seals a snake surrounds a cat *sejant gardant*. The dove is also found on cult objects. The snake as the enemy of the dove may represent the power of the under-world as against the symbol of the over-world or atmosphere. But the Indus figurine seems to be amuletic, possibly representing some aspect of Nirṛti or Yama.

Inanimate symbols:—Among the symbolical cult-objects the peculiar vessel in front of the bulls and goats has attracted much attention. Friederichs takes the lower portion to be a crib and the upper a stable rack and the lines as representing fodder. Marshall thinks it is an incense-burner and the lines as flames. If it is a fire-holder it probably represents the ceremony akin to leading a cow and the fire three times around the house to break the evil influence of ill-omened birds. Mackay points out that by itself it is carried in procession and occurs separately on the amulets. It is not a bird-cage, and it is also doubtful if it is made of reeds—the lines and pellets being mere decorations. I have observed that the object is represented with at least twenty variations. The lower vessel is sometimes plain, knobbed, with

23. Pendlebury. *Archælogy of Create.*

24. The Cretan Earth goddess is now conjectured to be De-or Ge-mater taken over by the Greeks and called Cybebe or Cybele in Phrygia. In the Greek pantheon Gaia or Ge had a daughter Phea (Cybele, Hecate, Artemis) wife and sister of Cronos. Many breasted Artemi's (or Diana) is the "Lady of the wild Creatures". To Cronos and Rhea were born Demeter, Hera, Hades, Poseidon and Zeus.

a projecting bass, ornamented with wavy horizontal lines. The upper vessel is square, rectangular, semi-circular, in three, four, five compartments, with a knob at the top, ornamented with dots, vertical lines, zigzags etc. The base of the upper vessel has a tubular form connecting it with the lower. It is highly probable that this vessel is some sort of filter for a ritual drink. The so-called flames may be some sacred herbs like the *sōma*. The two vessels were thus affixed and the drink filtered through from the upper to the lower.[25] In the Atharva (IX-4) there is an obscure hymn glorifying the bull.

A male (*pumān*) yet pregnant, big (*sthavira*), rich in milk, the Bull bears a *trunk* (*Kabandha*) of *Vasu* (good ?) ; him sacrificed to Indra, let Agni carry by the God-travelled roads (*dēvayāna*).

His *Krōḍa* (breast ?) was Jāmaiśamsas (the imprecation of sisters ?); his vessel ? (obscure) was maintained as Sōma's. When the gods distributed the Bull.

Of reddish form, *nabhasa* (clouded ?) vigor giving, the vehemance of Indra, all formed, he hath come to us, assigning to us life and progeny ; with abundances of wealth, let him attach himself to us. (Paippalāda—प्रजामस्मभ्यं दधतो ‹यिंच दीर्घायुत्वाय शतशारदाय)

Here in this stall, O Closeness (*upaparchana*) be thou close unto us; unto us what seed the bull has; unto us Indra, thy heroism.

(cf. *Ṛg.* IV-28-8; *Tai. Br.* II-8-8. उपेदं उपपर्चनं आसु गोषूपपृच्यताम्)

This object therefore was a sacred vessel and used in many types of sacrifices. Vats points out that even before it was associated with the " Unicorn " it was worshipped. On the tiny rectangular seals found below seventeen feet, (Nos. 441, 443, 440) this object occurs. Therefore it cannot be a form of the *Nandi Kōlu* (as the tall pole decorated with bands of brass and an image of Nandin taken in front of the Vīra Śaiva processions in the Karṇāṭaka, is called in

25. Sōma juice however seems to have been filtered through a woollen cloth. On a cylinder seal from Byblos a deity on an animal is facing a bull which bears a pyramid on its back. Between the two there is a curious vessel. (Contenau, *La civilization Phoenicienne* fig. 18). Also Frankfort. *Cylinder Seals*, p. 119.

Kannaḍa). Symbolically it may also have represented earth and heaven, plants growing from the lower, the canopy-like upper part representing the sky, pouring down rain, represented by the dots and wavy lines. In IX-3-20 one "nest" pressed upon another nest is described, " A nest (kataya) upon a nest, a Kōśa pressed together in a Kośa, there a mortal is born (*vijā*) from whom all is generated (*prajā*)."

The *troughs* in front of some of the animals had a ritual significance. Friederichs takes its absence before the Zebus as a sign of domestication. The manger before the buffalo, tiger, rhino, etc. show that they may not be domesticated. But Vats thinks that it means merely offering of food and is no indication of domestication or non-domestication. The troughs are of several forms. Usually the trough has sides curving outward at the top. On one seal, probably astrological, the trough is like a circle with radiating petals, perhaps made of basketry and representing the Sun. We know that in the Vedic sacrifices the animals before being killed were ritually fed and given water to drink. (अपांषेरुरसि). I have elsewhere pointed out that the animals on the seals perhaps represent creatures sacrificed to various gods to attain various ends. In the *Taittirīya Samhita* (V-5-11) says that the boar is to be offered to Indra, a deer to Yama, a *gayal* or a tiger to Vṛṣa, to Varuṇa a black deer or a *gura* (Bos Gavaens), a monkey to a Rāja, a worm to Nilangū (snake), a gazelle (*Kulunga*) to Sōma, a *simśumāra* (crocodile or *gharial*) to Sindhu (ocean), an elephant for the Snowy Mountains (Himavant), a puruṣāmṛga to the moon, a dappled deer to Day, a *tittiri* or *ruru* to Rudra, a lion, *nakula* and tiger, to Indra, a *rhinoceros* to Kāma, a ram for Varuṇa, a horse, tūpara and gayal (*gōmṛga*) for Prajāpati, a *Kapōta* to Samvatsara; a humped bull for Indra, bulls with dew-laps (*adhītodha karṇāh*) to Viṣṇu, three dew-lapped (?) goats to Indrāṇī. (V-6.) Five victims Aśva, Vṛṣṇa Ṛṣabha, Basta and Puruṣa are also mentioned (V-7-10).

To Indra in war a beast with forward-bent horns, and a spot on the forehead, for that is the shape of the thunder-bolt.

इन्द्रायवृत्रतुरे ललामं प्राश्रृङ्गमालभेत गतश्रीः प्रतिष्ठा कामः ||
इन्द्राय वज्रिणे ललामं प्राश्रृङ्गमालभेत
यमलं राज्यायसंतं राज्यंनलुपवमेत् ||
इन्द्रमेव वज्रिणं स्वेनभागधेयेन उपधावति ।
सः एवास्मै वज्रं प्रयच्छति । सएवैनं वज्रः भूत्यै इन्वे उपैनं राज्यं
नमति ललामः प्राश्रृङ्गो भवतिएतद्वैवज्रस्य स्वरूपम् ।।

A cow should be sacrificed to Viṣṇu and a humped bull to Indra. वैष्णवारुणीं वशां इन्द्र उक्षाणम्. To obtain food a dappled animal (*pṛśni*) must be offered to Maruts, a spotted deer to Savitṛ for gain, a beast of many forms (*bahurūpam*) to Viśvēdēvāh, in witch-craft a red cow (*lōhita*) to Rudra, a *Vāmana paśu* to Viṣṇu (वैष्णवं वामनमालभेत), a gayal to Vāyu (II-6 ff).

All these animals are found on the seals. The cow however is absent because though occassionally as in the funeral ceremonies it was sacrified in the Vēdic period, it was already recognised as *aghnāyī*. In the Atharva (V-18, 19) it is called Timāta poison. "The cow slain pulled down the Vaitahavyas who cooked the last she-goat of Kēsara prābandhas." "The hundred and one Janatas perished for injuring the Brahman progeny". The Sṛnjayas and Vaitahavyas perished for injuring Bhṛgu and *brahma gavī*. "Becoming eight-footed, four-eyed, four-eared, four-jawed, two-mouthed, two-tongued, she shakes down the kingdom of the Brāhmaṇa reviler." The absence of the cow cannot be taken as indicating a non-Āryan civilisation, for the living cow only has been worshipped throughout Indian history and no images of it as of the bull, are adored. If the seals are taken to be amulets, it is possible that the animals thereon were supposed to bestow the same virtues as indicated in the *Taittirīya Samhita*—the bull for virility of Indra, the rhinoceros for Kāma etc.

Trees :—The Aśvattha, acacia, nīm, palm, date, banana, small plant like *tulasi* grown in a bowl—can be identified in the seals. The bamboo reeds and lotus pods along with trees occur on

pottery, and can also be inferred from the charcoal remnants. Ears of wheat and barley are shown. Among the fruits and vegetables peas and sesamum are found at Harappa but not at Mohenjo Daro. Dates, melons, lemon leaf, pomegranates, cocoanuts and lotus fruit were known. Rice so familiar to the Dravidians does not seem to be known in the Indus civilisation. But the cocoanut is interesting because in South India it is called the fruit of the south (tenkāy) and its Sanskrit name *nālikēra* or *nārikēla* may have been of non-Āryan origin.

The Aśvattha as already indicated was the abode of various gods like Maruts, Rudra, the Gandharvas and Apsaras. Its leaves are used in various charms ; so also the parna-śamī, deodar, nyagrōdha etc. That tree worship is a characteristic of non-Āryan culture is a statement without foundation. There is ample literary evidence to show that several trees were worshipped by the Vedic people. The nīm tree, apart from its medicinal quality, is sacred to the so-called Dravidian Mother goddesses. But not a single mother-goddess figurine has been found with a sprig of neem leaves as ornament.

One seal at Harappa shows an acacia within a railing. If the tree can be identified with *Acacia catechu* or *Punis deodara*, it is interesting to note that this tree is supposed to confer long life and its name dēva-dāru means a tree of the gods. In Atharva (VIII-2) an amulet of deodar is prescribed to obtain long life, to avert false accusation and in the tonsure ceremony. "The remedy *Pūtudru* is the body of Agni, transporter (pārayiṣṇa) demon-slayer, expelling diseases, and killing rivals." At Khafaje a terra-cotta plaque shows "a palm tree to which strips of cloth are tied, a custom still observed by some Arabs and by the Yezidis in northern Iraq. The divine nature of the tree is indicated by the horned crown with which it is capped. The bearded figure next to it is embracing the tree with one arm and is perhaps a god thought to dwell therein or of whom the tree in some other way was considered to be a manifestation (*Ill. L. News :* 5th September, 1936.) The tree is within an ornamental railing and above the whole group there is a flower or star. Frankfort does not believe in the explanation of artificial pollination. He accepts

the existence of tree worship. The palm tree (*kadamba ?*) is of course sacred to Kāḷī (who is *kādamba vana vāsinī*) and to Madhukēsvara (as at Banavāsi). It is a common custom in India also to tie pieces of cloth or coloured strings to trees. In the *upanayana*, the palāśa brahma daṇḍa is deposited in an Asvattha. The Atharva Vēda (VIII—8) says that in the spells to conquer enemy armies, to the north of the fire, a branch of red Asvattha is set up and tied with red and blue threads. As regards the other plants and herbs we shall discuss them when we consider the seals as amulets and their significance in funeral ceremonies.

The *anchor* was perhaps another cult object as it figures on a miniature seal at Harappa. It seems to have two prongs and the handle seems to be oval-shaped. It has some resemblance to a pick-axe. Perhaps the anchor was worshipped by the sailors and sea-farers for ships are scratched upon pottery-sherds.

The *axe* with the single blade may also have been a cult object. In the Atharva (VII-45) an interesting remedy against jealousy is given. Water in which a heated axe had been dipped, (*paraśu phāṇṭa*) was given to drink. There is here a reference to the Indus people.

"From a people belonging to all peoples, away from the river Sindhu[26] brought hither, from afar I think thee brought up a remedy, *viz.* jealousy."

A similar remedy is prescribed for *takman* (Atharva I-25.). It (?) is addressed as the god of the yellow one (jaundice ?), *hṛūḍu* by name. This mysterious word is said to mean a ram. Its variants are *huḍu, hrūdru, hrūḍu, hūḍu, rūḍu, rūḍhu.* Henry compares it with the Assyrian *ḫurašu*, the Hebrew *harūš*, the proto-Semitic *harūḍu* meaning gold. Halevy thinks it is *chloros*, the greenish yellow Vaiḍūrya or beryl. But Indian commentators take the word to mean a "ram" and perhaps it is connected with the goat, (*ūḍu* in Dravidian, *ēḍuka* in Vedic Sanskrit). The double-axe sometimes occurs as a geometrical pattern. Whether it represents the vajra or the

26. Homer mentions that the language of the gods was different from that of men. The gods called a river Xanthos and men Scamandor. Xanthos is probably connected with Sindhu.

sign of mithuna, and has any connection with the double-axe cult of Egypt and Crete, it is not possible to say. In any case, in the Indus civilisation the double-axe was of less importance, as indicated by the absence of any clear model.

"*Mace-heads*":—The so-called mace-heads at Mohenjo Daro are mostly lentoids and at Harappa round or pear-shaped. At Tell Agrab mace-heads of lime-stones, marble, alabaster, serpentine are found in the Early Dynastic period. These stones were probably imported from Iran into Mesopotamia. One in the shape of a hammer-axe is rare in Mesopotamia but common in pre-historic Europe and also in the so-called treasure of Priam at Troy. Frankfort thinks that the mace-heads probably served as arms for the temple guard. But as we are not sure that there was a highly developed organisation in India, the mace-heads might have been cult-objects and used in the worship of fertility gods. If they were for secular purposes the civic authorities might have used them mounted on wands of authority. At Khafaje two mace-heads used in ceremonies show two lions facing opposite ways and one has got an inscription. (*Ill. L. News:* July 22, 1933).

Beads:—Beads, even now called "maṇis" were meant not merely for ornaments but as amulets. Maṇis of various kinds are mentioned in the Atharva Vēda. In Hindu marriage ceremonies, beads and gold ornaments shaped like breasts [27] are strung together and worn. The *bhaśingas*, made of pith in the shape of female and male organs and ornamented with tinsel are tied on the foreheads of the bridegroom and the bride respectively. The beads of black glass are now held to be (along with bangles), indispensable to married women. Little children when dead are buried with a few beads in their mouths. The custom of sowing the house-site with beads was prevalent at Brak in Syria. More than 40,000 beads were cast into the soil to celebrate the foundation of the tower platform. At Tell Agrab the beads consisted of lozenges of blue and white lime-stone pierced on all four sides. Chanhu-Daro of course was perhaps the greatest manufacturing

27. Compare the beads of mammoth-ivory shaped like female breasts and strung into a necklace in Moravia. (*Ill. L. News:* March 25th, 1939).

centre. Agate, carnelian, steatite etc. were used and the beads were so tiny that thirty-four made an inch. "How they were shaped and even more how they were bored is at present quite incomprehensible".

The *sālagrāma* (ammonite) seems to have been another cult-object; the design is found on pottery and Mackay thinks that it was also worshipped: whether it was supposed to be the abode of Viṣṇu, as in modern Hinduism, there is no clear evidence. The conch (*śankha*) is found and when made of pottery as at Chanhu Daro resembles the modern śankha used in daily worship by Brahmaṇas, to pour water on the idols. The *sālagrāma*, *śankha*, a plant in a pot (probably the holy basil *tulasi*) the eagle with snakes, and the sun-wheel designs (*cakra*) may point to a type of proto-Vaiṣṇavism, if such a conclusion is not too far-fetched. There is nothing inherently improbable in the existence of a proto-Vaiṣṇavism along with proto-Śaivism; for the later history of these two mono-theistic sects shows the same stages of development, philosophy and ritual practices. The torso of an young man in a dancing posture discovered at Harappa is taken to represent a dancing god. Both Naṭarāja and Kṛṣṇa are dancing gods. In some scluptures Kṛṣṇa is represented in the same posture as Naṭarāja.

Other cult-objects are the kidney shaped "seals" and knobbed pottery, which have close resemblances in Khafaje, Ishchali and Tell Agrab in Mesopotamia, Brak and Chagar Bazaar in Syria.

(*To be concluded*)

THE SARVĀSTIVĀDINS AND THE MAHĀSAṄGHIKAS IN THE KUṢĀṆA PERIOD

By Baij Nath Puri

The epigraphic evidence bears testimony to the existence of two rival schools of Buddhism namely the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsaṅghikas, in the Kuṣāṇa period. These schools had their centres not only in India but also abroad[1], and each aimed at turning down the other. From the Mathurā Lion Capital Inscription[2] of the time of Śodasa we learn that the Mahāsaṅghika school had a strong hold at Mathurā. It is stated in that inscription that a Sarvāstivādin teacher named Budhila was imported from Nagara in the Jelalabad district to counteract the truth expounded by the Mahāsaṅghikas. From this record two conclusions may be inferred. Firstly that the Mahāsaṅghikas had a very strong hold at Mathurā slightly before the time of the Kuṣāṇas, and as such the Sarvāstivādins had to import a specialist from their head-quarters. Secondly, in pursuance of the object for which Budhila was imported, the school of the Sarvāstivādins which was supposed to be in existence was reinforced by the new arrival. Thus before the time of Kuṣāṇas there were already in existence the two rival schools. Their existence in the Kuṣāṇa period is testified to by a number of epigraphic records both in Brāhmī and in Kharoṣṭhi belonging to that period. Before going into a discussion it is better to take note of these records and we have the following records regarding the Sarvāstivādins.

The Kaṇiṣka Casket inscription[3] of the first year records the

1. Cf. The kurram inscription of the king Kaniṣka and the Wardhak Inscription of King Huviṣka. Sten Konow corpus Vol. II. p. 155-165.
2. Sten Konow: Corpus Indicarum Vol. II. p. 30 ff.
3. Ibid p. 137.

gift of a casket by dāsa Agiśala in Kaṇiṣka's Vihāra and Mahāsena's Saṅghārāma in the possession (*parigrahe*) of the Sarvāstivādin teachers.

The Zeda inscription [4] of the eleventh year records the gift of Hipea Dhia for the increase of the Sarvāstivāda school in honour of Kṣatrapa Liaka. Zeda is in the Yusufzai district near Ohind.

The Kurram inscription [5] of the twentieth year records the establishment of the relic of lord Sākyamuni in the new Vihāra in the possession of the Sarvāstivādin teachers. It is not certain where the copper stupa on which the inscription is inscribed was actually found. Kurram is a Tehsil in the Peshawar district.

Among the Brāhmī records the Sahet Mahet inscription [6] of the time of King Kaṇiṣka records the dedication of a Bodhisattva, an umbrella, and a stick as a gift of monk Bala, a well read person of the Trīpītakas. They were dedicated at the place where the Lord (*i.e.* Buddha) used to walk in the Kosambakuṭī, as the property of the teacher of the Sarvāstivādins.

The Anyor Bodhisattva inscription [7] obtained from a shrine known as Galatesvar Mahādeo Maṭh near Katrā in Mathurā where it was inserted in a wall, records the dedication of the Bodhisattva for the welfare of the Sarvāstivādins. The Inscription is undated.

These are the only Kuṣāṇa inscriptions which record dedications for the increase and welfare of the Sarvāstivādins. They also mention the names of the Vihāras and Saṅghārāmas in possession of the Sarvāstivādins. The sect of the Mahāsaṅghikas who were equally strong is found in the following records :—

The Wardhak inscription [8] records the establishment of Lord Sākyamuni's relic in the Vagramarega Vihāra which was in the possession of the Mahāsaṅghika teachers. Vagramarega appears to be an Iranian word. The place Wardhak is situated about thirty miles to the west of Kabul.

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4. Sten Konow : Corpus Indicarum Vol. II, p. 142.
5. Ibid p. 155.
6. Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII. p. 180.
7. Vogel : Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum No. A 66.
8. Sten Konow : Corpus Indicarum Vol II. p. 165.

Among the Brāhmī records, the earliest is the Bodhisattva Image Pedestal Inscription[9] dated in the tenth year of King Kaṇiṣka. This Bodhisattva image was dedicated by the monk Nāgadatta, an inmate of the Vihāra to the Krauṣṭikīya monastery, in the (Ghandha) Kuṭī of his own shrine in the possession of the teachers of the Mahāsaṅghika order.

The Palikhēra stone Bowl Inscription[10] records the dedication for the Mahāsaṅghika teachers. A Buddhist pedestal Inscription[11] from Mathurā city records the dedication of the pedestal in the Āpanaka Vihāra in the possession of the Mahāsaṅghika monks.

There is yet another inscription[12] dated in the ninety-first year and recovered from the debris of a home in Matāgalī lane. It records the erection of something in a monastery designated as Cutaka-Vihāra (mango monastery). This pious act was executed for the increase of the religious piety and strength of the Mahāsaṅghikas.

Besides these two important schools of Buddhism, Mathurā was also the centre of activity of the Dharmguptikas, another important sect of Buddhists. There is an inscription[13] on the pedestal of a Bodhisattva image which was established by Pusika Nāgapriya in the sanctuary of her own chaitya in the possession of the Dharmguptaka teachers.

Thus from a perusal of these records it would appear that in the Kuṣāṇa period the Sarvāstivādins had their centres at Taxilā, Kurram (Peshawar district), Zeda in the Yusufzai district, Srāvasti, and Mathurā. This school had not declined till the fifty-first year the time of the Anyor Bodhisattva inscription. The Mahāsaṅghika, on the other hand had their centres at Wardhak (near Kabul) and at different places in the Mathurā district. The earliest record of the Mahāsaṅghikas is dated in the tenth year of the King Kaniṣka and the latest is dated in the ninety-first year. The Dharmguptikas also existed in the Kuṣāṇa period. Further the

9. Mathurā Museum Sclupture No 2740; U. P. H. S. July 1939 p. 23 No. XIII.
10. Ibid No. 662; ibid No. XI
11. Ibid No. 1612; ibid No. XII.
12. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIX, No. 9. (VII) p. 69.
13. U. P. H. S. July 1939, p. 24, No. XIV.

Sarvāstivādins had Vihāras as well as Saṅghārāmas. At Taxila they had Kaniṣka's Vihāra and Mahāsena's Saṅghārāma. The Mahāsaṅghikas had Vihāras at Mathurā as is evident from their inscription namely the Kraushṭikīya Vihāra, the Āpanaka Vihāra and the Cutaka Vihāra[14]. It is not known whether the Mahāsaṅghikas had any Sanghārāma.

Now it becomes necessary to discuss two important questions concerning these two Buddhist orders, firstly the distinction beween a Vihāra and a Saṅghārāma and secondly the relation of King Kaniṣka with the Sarvāstivādins.

The term vihāra, according to Kern [15], does not only denote a monastery but frequently also a temple. This is testified to by a striking instance afforded by a passage in Yuan Chwan's travels [16]. The term vihāra is applied to a place where worship is conducted while the most common term for a monastery is Saṅghārāma. Every great monastery had a vihāra or temple annexed to it; at Sarnath and Nalanda such state of things did exist [17].

Thus it would appear that a vihāra, though a part of a Saṅghārāma, was something different from it. It was a place where worship was conducted. Sarvāstivādins had Mahasena's Saṅghārāma at Taxilā and this Saṅghārāma had Kaniṣka's Vihāra. The question therefore naturally arises, was Kaniṣka a Sarvāstivādin?

The Sarvāstivādins were offshoots of the Mahīśāsakas who in their turn were offshoots of the Theravāda school. A broad distinction can be made between the Theravāda and its offshoots, and the Mahāsaṅghikas or Ācāryavāda schism with its sub-division. The orthodox Theravāda in course of time produced the Mahiśāsakas and the Vajjīputtakas. The school of the Mahīśāsakas branched off again into the Sarvāstivādins and Dharmguptikas [18]. Therefore the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsaṅghikas were two antagonistic schools of Buddhism.

14. U. P. H. S. 1939 July p. 24.
15. Manual of Indian Buddism p. 81.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid p. 111.

According to the traditional evidence furnished by Yuan Chwang, King Kaniṣka evinced interest to learn the truths of Buddhism, but he was perplexed by the variant interpretations given by the two different schools namely the Mahāsaṅghikas and the Sarvāstivādins who had a strong hold at Kashmir.[19] In concert with the head of the Buddhist church Parśva, the king, convened a council with a view to record the different interpretations. In the council the Sarvāstivādins formed a majority. The President of the council Vasumitrā was also a Sarvāstivādin. Since the Sarvāstivādins formed a majority naturally their views alone counted. It, therefore, naturally followed that the accepted versions in most cases were those of the Sarvāstivādins. But what was the reason for this preference to the Sarvāstivādins ?

Now it is clear from the Taxila casket inscription of the first year[20] that King Kaniṣka had a vihāra named after him in Mahāsena's Saṅghārāma in possession of the Sarvāstivādin school. This would naturally show that Kaniṣka had leaned towards the Sarvāstivādins even earlier than his accession, since the inscription is dated in the first year of his reign. The vihāra named after him may also have been built even earlier than his accession. That may have been the reason for keeping the majority of the Sarvāstivādins with the president belonging to that school, in the Budhist council convened by him. As a patron of that school, it may have been his desire to see that the views of his school are carried which could have been possible only when that school had a majority. Therefore epigraphic evidence points to the fact that Kaniṣka was a Sarvāstivādin, and it would thus corroborate Hieun Tsang's account that in his council the Sarvāstivādins had the majority and their decisions weighed. Any traditional evidence which may point to Kaniṣka's patronage of Mahāyanism is thus unsupported. In fact epigraphic evidence which is a sure and sound piece of evidence points to the other direction, namely that King Kanṣika was a Sarvāstivaādin. As Kern has rightly remarked[21], " In the Buddhist council itself, on external and internal grounds, an inference

19. Watters: Yuan Chwang I pp. 202,283.
20. Sten Konow : Corpus Indicarum Vol. II p. 137.
21. Manual of Indian Buddhism p. 122.

may be drawn that the council was only attended by the Śrāvakas or Hīnayānists, or at least the opinion of the Mahāyānists, if represented at all, found no support.

The Sarvāstivādins, who had a very strong hold at Nagara in the Jelalabad district, as is evident from the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription [22] of the time of Śodasa, received an impetus from royal patronage of King Kaniṣka, and they were able to establish a new Vihāra (*nava vihāra*) near about Kurram quite close to Taxila, as is mentioned in the Kurram Casket inscription of the twentieth year [23]. In the time of King Kaniṣka, the Sarvāstivādins had their centres in the east at Śravāstī and in the Āryavarta proper at Mathurā [24]. The centre at Mathurā was in existence even till a later period as is evident from Anyor Bodhisattva inscription [25]. There is no later record of the Sarvāstivādins. There is an undated record [26] of the Dharmguptikas who along with the Sarvāstivādins formed offshoots of the Mahīśāsakas, but it is uncertain whether they flourished concurrently with the Sarvāstivādins, or came into existence when the Sarvāstivādins probably began to decline. It is not improbable to suggest that the school of the Sarvāstivādins which had enjoyed the patronage of the first Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka was on the wane after him. This may have been due to the want of royal patronage, lack of efficient and well versed teachers as well as the growth of the rival school of the Mahāsaṅghikas. Each of these causes has to be examined.

Now the Mahāsaṅghikas did exist before the time of Kaniṣka[27], were in existence in the time of Kaniṣka[28], and continued to flourish at least till the ninety-first year of the Kuṣāṇa era[29]. This would show that though the Sarvāstivādins had enjoyed the patronage of

22. Sten Konow : Corpus Vol. II. p. 30 ft.
23. Ibid p. 152,
24. Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII. p. 181.
25. Vogel : Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum No. A. 66.
26. U. P. H. S. July 1939 p. 24 No. XIV.
27. Cf. Mathurā Lion Capital Inscription of the time of Śodasa.
28. U. P. H. S. July 1939, p. 23, No. XIII.
29. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIX, p. 69.

King Kaniṣka, the Mahāsaṅghikas were not curbed to such an extent as to be wiped off. They had their centres in Afghanistan[30] as well as in India[31] from where a number of their epigraphic records were recovered. After the death of King Kaniṣka, the Sarvāstivādins ceased to enjoy royal patronage for even the Anyor Bodhisattva inscription, the last and the solitary Sarvāstivādins record does not at all hint at the association of the emperor with this school. This naturally gave an opportunity for the Mahā-saṅghikas to rise again. Now if we are to believe the traditional evidence the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna who was born as the tradition supposes at the time of the Kaniṣka Buddhist Council[32], became the greatest promoter of Mahāyanism, which entertained views agreeing with the old sect, the Mahāsaṅghikas[33]. Naturally the Mahāsaṅghikas had a double opportunity to rise namely, the want of royal patronage for the Sarvāstivādins and the existence of the great teacher Nāgārjuna who was their promoter. The fact that they had three Vihāras at Mathurā namely, the Āpanaka, the Cutaka and the Krauṣṭīka vihāra is a sufficient proof of their strong hold. Viewing these reasons it is probable that after the time of Kaniṣka, the Sarvāstvādins ceased to have royal patronage and they lacked good teachers while on the other hand the Mahā-saṅghikas began to rise. This may have caused the decline of the Sarvāstivādins who did not leave any epigraphic record after the Anyor inscription though the last record of the Mahāsaṅghikas is dated in the ninety-first year of the Kuṣāṇa era.

It would thus appear that in the Kuṣāṇa period, the two important schools of Buddhism, namely, the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsaṅghikas, continued as in the time of Śodasa, to fight for counteracting the truth expounded by each other thereby trying to gain supremacy. The royal patronage of one sect at one period did not sufficiently curb the growth of the other sect which after the death of the patron of the Āntagonistic school,

30. Cf. Wardhak inscription of the time of Huviṣka.

31. Cf. Paliknera stone Bowl Inscription and others No. XI-XIV of U.P.H.S. July 1939.

32. Kern: Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 122.

33. Waddell: The Buddhism of Tibetan Lamaism, p. 10.

coupled with its vehement and ardent supporter Boddhisattva Nāgārjuna gained supremacy. Whether the Sarvāstivādins with the help of Dharmgupta, and his sect, who also belonged to Mahīśāsaka group tried again is a question to be discussed later.[34]

34. Read at the last Session of the Indian History Congress, Lahore.

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THE LEGEND OF PRAHLĀDA[1]

BY MOHAN SINGH, Ph.D., D.Litt.

III

The Esoteric and Phenomenal meanings of the Legend of Prahlāda

ALTHOUGH I have tried to extract the possible historical Prahlāda, on studying the *Taittireya*[2] and *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣads* I sometimes feel that it is a legend and has been based on and developed out of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*. The clue is supplied by the important words occurring in the story in its less as in its fully developed form. Those who later fully developed it also kept the original purpose or significance in their view.

Hiranyakaśipu is composed of *Hiranya* and *Kaśipu*. *Hiranya* is gold, wealth, the earth, that which takes one away from Brahman. It is the form. Let us recall *Hiranyaretas* and *Hiranyagarbha* in the Vēdas. Gold is connected with self. It is connected with the *Satyuga*. *Hiranya* is also connected with *Agni* or fire and thus with the Sun. Gold is also connected with the golden fort of the *Asuras*. These supplied the Paurānika mind with the great king *Hiranyakaśipu* of the *Asuras* who through *tapas* obtained immortality, *Sarvadevātmya*, etc. from Brahmā, who was wealthy, who had his *Sabha*, who had his capital at Mūlisthān[3], where the temple of the Sun lay, and who became

1. Continued from Vol. XXXI, Page 109.
2. Taitt. Vol. I. 15, 16, 17, 22. Taitt. Br. I. 5, 9. Kan. Br. Up. III, 21.
3. The *Bhaviṣya Purāna* records the introduction of the worship of the Sun into the north-west of Hindustan by *Samba*, the son of Krishna. Samba departed from Dwāraka and proceeding from the northern bank of the Sindhu, crossed the great river Chandrabhāgā to the celebrated grove of Mitra (Mitravana), where by fasting, penance, and prayer, he acquired the favour of Sūrya, and was cleansed of his leprosy......Samba engaged to construct the temple of the Sun and to found, in connection with it, a city on the banks of the Chandrabhāgā......(There is a reference to the *Magas*, the Iranian Zoroastrians.)

proud and who went away from Brahmā. The pillar in Sanskrit is *Stambha*, a synonym of which is *Valli*. With the Valli, the sacrificial post, is connected Ānanda in the Vēdas. Ānanda has been allegorized, personified as Prahlāda which means joy and, Prahlāda which means sound. He is *Rasa, Soma, Kama*. The formless juice resides in the *rūpa*. This is Prahlāda born of *Hiranyakaśipu*. *Narasimha* is the same as the *Uttama Puruṣa*, or *Puruṣotama* or *Nara Hari*. The best man kills, sacrifices the *asura* in man and the juice, the Ānanda, the bliss of self, the Kāma thrives and connects itself with the whole world through love. This gives us the atonement of Prahlāda, or Prahlāda's reconciliation with *Hiranyakaśipu*, and Prahlāda's securing of exculpation and forgiveness for his father. This Ānanda is also *Sat* as opposed to *Asat*; therefore we get the king Prahlāda speaking the truth while adjudging between *Sudhana* and his own son *Virochana*. *Ānanda* is light and power. Of the one, the other is born; this gives us the son *Virochana* and the grandson *Bali*. Bali or strength will, in its turn as an *Asura*, like Hiranyakaśipu, gives us a legend. And that he does, signifiying the same thing as this legend does. *Narasimha* takes the aid of *Om*. The *Pauranika* mind goes into details which appropriately and continuously add to it. The *asura* is killed in the evening twilight at the threshold by nails which are neither wet nor dry, by a form which is neither god nor beast, and is killed because he would not realise the One-manifoldness of Viṣṇu. These parts of the myth proceeded from the character of the realization which brings about the death of the lower-self for the sake of Ānanda so that Ānanda may get reconciled to the lower-self, which has acquired true knowledge and is no longer the lower self. That realization consists in knowing the One in the Many and in rising above both pain and pleasure, hope and despair, light and darkness, virtue and vice, in short, transcending all duality. It is the heart which is torn open. True, it is the heart which must die. After death it attains real immortality. Its previous life was not real but was a sort of curse, born of rejection, ignorance, though that life and power too, had come through creative *tapas*. This gives us the story of the curse *Jaya* and *Vijaya* brought upon themselves and the removal of that curse

through their births and deaths on the earth and their return as door-keepers of Viṣṇu. They cannot have the Heaven, cannot become its masters. It is Prahlāda who obtains the dignity of Indra and is finally united with Viṣṇu. It is the son alone who can enter Heaven. Those who live in the capital of the *Asura* are *Mlecchas*; true, for that is the seat of *Ahankara*, pride, duality, Māya which, though all powerful, is yet evil. Prahlāda, the *Ānanda*, the *Amrita*, is persecuted, pressed, in denial of the Unity and Harmony, he stands for. The *Sabha* is the glory that the lower-self through its *tapas*, effort instigated by the desire to wreak vengeance, acquires or creates but such a glory is *asuric* and must be destroyed by the best self. All the higher powers are for that destruction. Prahlāda is an *avatara; he is the sun-god of the Vēdas.* He is wisdom, ideal behaviour and even Indra learns it from him. He is the first one taught by Kapila who is no other than Rudra, the Lord. Sukra is the teacher of the *Asuras*; he is wisdom and poetry. He is the Guru both of the *Asuras* and the *Suras*. But his sons, Sanda and Marka[4], are discarded by Prahlāda for they represent the wrong, the lower, the baser use of wisdom and poetry, and *yoga*. Sukra, the higner use of wisdom, is the true teacher of Prahlāda. *Prahlada* sees and understands *Narasimha*, the one in the many but *Hiranyakaśipu* cannot; though the latter suspects that He is going to be his death. The Power of fire, water, incantations, personified as such or as priests and *daityas* cannot kill Prahlāda, the Ānanda, who is saved by Viṣṇu whom he praises, and with whom he becomes one.

The three Upaniṣads mentioned above and the *Taittariya Āranyaka* help us to explain many a minor detail which was worked up into the fully developed legend by the various Purāṇas according to their preferences. *Puraṇa* itself comes from *Puranom*, another name for *Brahman* in league with Satvic *Maya*. There is a prayer in the *Taitt-Āranyaka*: "May the *Hirayagarbha* protect us; may *Narasimha* who has nails like *Vajra* and sharp teeth protect us." Is it not enough to provide the *Pauranika* with a Man-lion: and yet the Bhāgavata emphasizes that the Lord was not half a man

4. Like Madhu and Kaitaba, which the Mahabharata equates with Rajas and Tamas. See Santi Parva, Vol. II, p. 840.

and half a lion; but that at one moment He looked like a lion and at another like a man. The Higher self, the Best-man must look like it as the Universal self is now *Hari*, the Lion, and now *Viṣṇu*. The Pillar is the post of sacrifice: it is the place in which the sacrificer will appear; it is the heart, the presence of the Lord which is denied by the lower self. The lower self considers it just a support of his own glory. The *Bṛhadaranyaka Upaniṣad* says that the demons can be overcome by *Udgītta* or praise. Death means liberation from the contact of innate sin. So it was with Hiranyakaśipu. He was torn open by the nails. Yes, "the consciousness of the soul extends to the nails". Hiranyakaśipu became all gods and secured his *sabhā* through penance, but he forgot what the *devas* and *asuras* are asked to realize by the meanings of the words दा or Dā which is, restrain your desire, be liberal and exercise clemency. Hiranyakaśipu does none of these. Prahlāda was saved by the remembrance of the name of Rāma; quite so, for "Life verily is Ram, रं". The Sindhu country was noted for its horses, according to the Bṛhadaranyaka Upaniṣad. The lower self falls at the height of his pride and is struck by the higher self; it is thus that at noon on *Vaiśakha Śudi* fourteenth on a Saturday Narasimha appears. The lower self takes time to realize its mistakes and expires; he at first tries to fight it but fights a losing battle, conscious of its doom. *Narasimha*, therefore, kills him in the evening twilight, several hours after his own manifestation; some would make it seven days after, during which Hiranyakaśipu first makes his subordinates, his lower passions, to capture *Narasimha*. We may stop at the killing of the lower self by the higher self and not bring in the persecutions of Prahlāda but put down the death of the former as having been brought about at the instance of the prayers of the good folk tyrannized over by it, rather than to the inner hunger; in which case Bhagvān may appear at the instance of the Devas and not for the protection of Prahlāda. In the *Taitt. Up.* we are told that the Riṣis of the *Taitt. Up.* are Viṣṇu, who pervades the Sun; Brahmā; Varuna; and Bhrigu. Hari is the deity. The God Indra is said to be produced from the eternal Vēdas. *Puruṣa* is al

intelligence, immortal and golden. *Maha*[5] resides in Brahman; he obtains the kingdom of self. Let Viṣṇu of powerful strides be favourable to us. Penance is Brahman. Let him worship as salutation and all desires bow down to him. Hari is resplendent like gold. Cannot we on this basis make Hiranyakaśipu obtain all he desires by worshipping Brahma by salutation; cannot we connect a Bhārgava with him as his teacher; cannot we bring in Hari, the lion, to liberate him from his sense of duality; cannot we make Hiranyakaśipu, ignorant of the Vēdas and inimical to Indra, whom he vanquishes; cannot we make Indra divest Hiranyakaśipu of all his glory of the lower-self when he is away to perform penance; cannot we make the (Uttama Puruṣa) Narasimha, the Self, the Atma, the Brahma, the Aum, have the refulgence of a hundred Suns? *Ānanda*, *Sat* and *Chit* go together; therefore Prahlāda (Ānanda) is a born *Bhakta* and knower, one who is conscious of the Lord Viṣṇu even in the womb, and who speaks truth, under most trying circumstances, when the life of his own son is at stake.

The higher self has, and accepts, no other teacher than the Universal self; so Prahlāda is taught by Viṣṇu Himself who resides in every heart. Jiva as such cannot have perfect immortality; with all his *tapas* he can only achieve immunity for a long time from ordinary natural means of destruction and acquire sovereignty over the three worlds, and extensive glory. Hiranyakaśipu exemplifies this. All creation comes through *tapas*; hence Hiranyakaśipu to create his empire carries out *tapas* and repairs to Brahmā, the creator, and has his wishes fulfilled, through salutations and praise. The mentality that treats gold and a lump of earth alike is either that of a saint or of a child: Prahlāda, the saint, therefore, manifests his saintliness from his very birth and all persecutions of him and Viṣṇu's manifestations for and to him take place while he is still a boy. Of Brahmā, the creator, was born *Sanaka*, the devotee of Viṣṇu; of Hiranyakaśipu is born Prahlāda; in fact, says the Śiva Purāṇa, Prahlāda was an incarnation of the very Sanaka.

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5. Maha is the moon; so is Prahlāda, the moon of a particular time of the year. Maha in sun.

Once one is minded to intensive and extensive allegorization and mythologization, all one has to do is to go deepest, watch carefully the numberless aspects of the self and non-self, and the various phenomena of Nature which divinely teach that relation of self and non-self, and then give them appropriate garbs using pregnant words. Once you have humanized abstract qualities and natural phenomena, you can go on adding endlessly any human touches you like or choose as impressive. This is how our legend has grown during all these centuries. Perhaps, originally in nature it represented only the *summer Sun* over-whelming with his light, the mountain Himācala, and the *moon* bringing immeasurable joy to the sun-struck people at night.

Let us hear the *Narasimha-Upaniṣad* (Dārā Shikoh's Persian translation). The mother of the calves is desire; the all-devouring lion is the *Ātma*; all the desires are in Māyā whom the lion-Ātma eats. The all-eating lion is *Brahman*, he is light. He who thus knows the Ātma, becomes the Ātma and *Narasimha*, the light, the Brahman, the desireless one. The lion is the vanquisher of all, the frightener of all, the joy-giver of all, the destroyer of life. We cannot name him other than *Sat*, *Cit* and *Ānanda*. All directions are his face. The *Jīva*'s own sin is his devil. By *Nara* is meant to be *Jīva* and by *Siṃha* the *Paramātma*. Whosoever doubts the unity of *Ātma* is torn into thousands of pieces. This *Aum* (which) is the *Ātma;* this *Ātma* is the all-vanquishing lion; he destroys ignorance; He verily is knowledge. He is in all time, all space; He is the One true Ātma. This Māyā, which although is not separate from anything, separates all bodies and makes one as the worshipper and the other as the worshipped one.

Does this not clearly and openly avow that *Hiranyakaśipu* is the *Jīva*, the golden *Narasimha* the *Ātma*, and the wise Prahlāda, the *Buddhi?* Again, Hiranyakaśipu is Māyā, Narasimha is Brahman, Prahlāda is Sattva. Once again, Prahlāda is Ānanda, Viṣṇu is Sat and Hari is Cit. If we recall the statement of the Matsya Purāṇa that *Mandara*, the mountain, is the son of Hiranyakaśipu then we get an appropriate phenomenal interpretation which may have been the original Vēdic observation.

Hiranyakaśipu is the night over the earth and in the sky ; Narasimha is the Sun, and Mandara, the mountain.[6] The Sun destroys darkness and illumines the high mountain peak. We have already been apprised of the sacrificial meaning that Viṣṇu is the Sacrifice-*Puruṣa*, Hiranyakaśipu is the sacrifice-*paśu* and Prahlāda, the *Soma*. Almost the same identifications apply to Bali or Vali, the son of Virocana, grandson of Prahlāda. Mahābhārata (Santi Parva, Vol. II) is perfectly clear on this point, (P. 123) : "Tell me where may I now find that Vali whose wealth. . . . . . . He was the god of wind. He was Varuna. He was Surya. He was Soma. He was Agni that used to warm all creatures. He became water. I do not find where he now is." Prahlāda, Virocana and Bali are the three (steps) equating with all other dark, *asuric* threes.

IV

The Character of Prahlāda and His Teachings

Bhīshma said (*Mahābhārata, Santi Parva*)[7]—" The Chief of the Daityas, Prahlāda, was unattached to all worldly objects. His sins had been washed away. Of respectable parentage, he was possessed of great learning. Free from stupefaction and pride, ever observant of the quality of goodness, and devoted to various vows, he took praise and censure equally. Possessed of self-restraint . . . he was never angry with things that displeased him and never rejoiced at the association of objects that were agreeable. He cast an equal eye upon gold and a clump of earth. Steadily engaged in study of the Soul and in acquiring Emancipation, and firm in knowledge, he had arrived at *fixed* conclusions in respect of truth.

Cakra or Indra said to Prahlāda : " O king, I behold all those qualities permanently residing in thee by which a person wins the esteem of all. Thy understanding seems to be like that of a *child*, free from attachment and aversion."

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6. Mandara within the human body ; the seven mountains have their corresponding parts and powers in the human constitution—physical and mental.

7. P. C. Ray's Translation, Vol, II, pp. 190-193.

Prahlāda said: "He who regards himself as the doer of acts, good or bad, possesses a wisdom that is vitiated . . . . . He who is acquainted with only the transformations of Nature but not with Nature that is supreme and exists by herself, feels stupefaction in consequence of ignorance . . . . When I know what the origin is of all the *ordinances* of morality, I am incapable, O Cakra, of indulging in grief . . . . . . For one that is possessed of wisdom, that is self-restraint, that is contented with the light of self-knowledge, no trouble or anxiety exists . . . . By simplicity, by heedfulness, by cleansing the Soul, by mastering the passions, and by waiting upon aged seniors, O Cakra, a person succeeds in attaining to *Emancipation*. Know this, however, that *one acquires wisdom from Nature*, and that the *acquisition of tranquility also is due to the same cause*. Indeed, everything else that thou perceivest is due to Nature."

The *Daitya* Prahlāda by the merit of his behaviour had snatched from the high-souled *Indra* his sovereignty and reduced the three worlds to subjection. Indra went to *Bṛhaspati* wanting to know the source of felicity, and was referred by him to *Uçanas*, (the high-souled Bhārgavā) who should instruct him better. *Uçanas* therefore, disguised referred him to *Prahlāda* who had better knowledge. Indra, as a *brāhmaṇa* went to Prahlāda, his vanquisher and was thus instructed by him:[8]

"I do not, *O regenerate* one, feel any pride in consequence of my being a king nor do I cherish any hostile feelings towards Brāhmaṇas. On the other hand, I accept and follow the counsels of policy they declare unto me based upon the teaching of Śukra . . . . . . I bear no malice. I am of righteous soul. I have conquered wrath. I am self-restrained and all my senses are under my control. I taste the nectar dropped by learned men and *like the Moon among the constellations I live among the members of my race*."

Pleased with Indra disguised as a Brāhmaṇa, Prahlāda told him to ask for a boon. Indra, the clever, said that he desired to acquire Prahlāda's *behaviour*[9]. He thereby wanted to rob

8. Mahabharata, Santi Parva, Vol. I, pp. 402-406.

9. In the Astronomical Pattern behaviour would be motion and radiation of the dominant planet, season etc.

Prahlāda of his conduct. Prahlāda granted even that. The account proceeds to tell us how Behaviour went out of the body of Prahlāda in the shape of a flame of light and after it went, respectively, Righteousness, Truth, Good-deeds, Might, Prosperity and each refusing to live in Prahlāda as the previous one had left. "Righteousness and Truth and Good-deeds and Might and Prosperity all have their root verily in *Behaviour*." It was by his behaviour that Prahlāda reduced the three worlds to subjection. He is robbed by Cakra of that sovereignty, which he had over the three worlds.

As to the means of acquiring Behaviour, *Dhṛtaraṣtra* said: "Those means were indicated by the high-souled Prahlāda while discoursing unto Indra........ Abstention from injury, by act, thought and word, in respect of all creatures, compassion, and gift constitute behaviour that is worthy of praise. That act or exertion by which others are not benefited, or that act in consequence of which one has to feel shame, should never be done. That act, on the other hand, should be done in consequence of which one may win praise in society."

(*Concluded*)

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RĀMĀNANDA THE TRUE AUTHOR OF THE BHĀṢYARATNAPRABHĀ

By K. Madhava Krishna Sarma, M.O.L.

THOUGH generally attributed to Govindānanda (See the Nirnaya Sagar Press ed. 1904; Bibliotheca Indica ed. 1863; Dasgupta, History of Indian Philosophy, p. 418), Bhāṣyaratnaprabhā, the well-known commentary on the Śaṃkarabhāṣya seems to be really the work of his disciple Rāmānanda. In the fourth of the introductory verses of the work the author likens himself to a bee which is contented by entering into the lotus of the feet of Govindānanda:

श्रीमद्गोविन्दवाणीचरणकमलगो निर्वृतोऽहं यथालिः ।

Another proof of the identity of the author is the invocation to Rāma. Tradition has it that Rāmānanda was so called on account of his single-minded devotion to this favourite deity of his. A comparison of श्रीशंकरं भाष्यकृतं प्रणम्य व्यासं हरिं सूत्रकृतं च वच्मि । of the present work (intro. verse 5) with वेदान्तार्थं गभीरं ह्यतिसुगमतया बोधयामीति विष्णुर्व्यासात्मा। of the Vivaraṇopanyāsa, another of Rāmānanda's works (Ben. Sans. Series, 1901, intro. verse 2), in both of which Viṣṇu is said to have incarnated as Vyāsa, makes it clear that both are by the same author. At the end of the latter work there is:

गोविन्दानन्दभगवत्पूज्यपादपदौकसा ।
रामानन्दसरस्वत्या रचितोऽनुक्रमो मुदे ॥

A third of Rāmānanda's works, namely the Brahmāmṛtavarṣiṇī, a direct commentary on the Brahmasūtra, has at the end the colophon:

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमुकुन्दगोविन्द-
श्रीचरणशिक्षितश्रीरामानन्दसरस्वतीकृतौ ब्रह्मसूत्र-
वृत्तौ ब्रह्मामृतवर्षिण्यां चतुर्थाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

(Chowkhāmba ed.)

From this we learn that Govindānanda was also called Mukunda-govinda. It is not known how this work is attributed to Dharma-bhaṭṭa, son of Tirumalācārya and disciple of Rāmachandrārya in the colophon in the Telugu edition, Sarasvatinilaya Press, 1900. It is also not known how in the Benares edition (See editor's note) of the Vivaraṇopanyāsa the verse कामाक्षीदत्तदुग्ध etc. which is found at the beginning of the Bhāṣyaratnaprabhā also, is considered '*Asaṃbaddha*'.

There is a fourth work by our author, namely the Yogamaṇi-prabhā, a commentary on the Yogasūtra. This also has at the end the colophon :

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीगोविन्दानन्द-
भगवत्पादशिष्यश्रीरामानन्दसरस्वतीकृतौ सांख्य-
प्रवचने योगमणिप्रभायां कैवल्यपादश्चतुर्थः ॥

(Ben. San. Series ed.)

The similarity of the titles Maṇiprabhā and Ratnaprabhā is also a point in favour of the identity of the authors.

The error in the ascription of the Bhāṣyaratnaprabhā, which probably originated in a wrong tradition that Govindānanda and Rāmānanda referred to the same individual, is found also in colophons of MSS. of the work and is not a modern one. For instance in Nos. 8. H 26 and 27. I. 89 of the Adyar Library the commentary is ascribed to Govindānanda (Cf. also colophons of the MSS. of the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras; India Office, etc.). But in spite of the colophons attributing the work to Govindānanda there is found the title Rāmānandīya at the end of both the above MSS. of the Adyar Library, besides 'Ramānandakṛtā' contained on a fly-leaf at the beginning of the former. It is found as Rāmānandi both on the cover and in the margins of the leaves (in the latter in the contracted form सूलभा-टी-रामा) of one of the India Office MSS. (Cf. Keith 7979) also. Authoritative writers, mention always Rāmānanda as the author and never confound him

with Govindānanda. For instance, Pāyaguṇḍe Vaidyanātha in his Kalā on the Laghusiddhāntamañjūṣā speaks of the commentary as Rāmānanda's. Compare

एतेनान्यथात्वानन्दगिरिरामानन्दादिव्याख्यानमपास्तम्

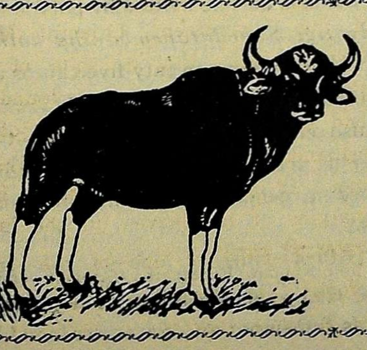
(Chowkhamba ed. p. 288).

आनन्दगिरिरामानन्दाद्युक्तिं खण्डयति ।..............................

रामानन्दोक्तमप्यपास्तम । (P. 291)

Our historians of Indian Philosophy have not taken note of this; nor of the fact that both Govindānanda and Rāmānanda were earlier than Nāgeśa.

Aufrecht mentions the Bhāṣyaratnaprabhā under the names of both Govindānanda (C. C. l. p. 169) and Rāmānanda (p.520). The entries of Vivaraṇopanyāsa, Bhāṣyaratnaprabhā and the Brahmāmṛtavarṣiṇī which occur under different Rāmānanda Sarasvatis in Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum, l. p. 521, have to be brought together under one author.



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BHADRAVATI - BANGALORE

KUMĀRA RĀMA

By H. Sreenivasa Jois

Kampilaraya and his son Kumāra Rāma were ruling the country round about Hampi in the early part of the fourteenth Century A.D. Their exploits have been described in detail in four Kannada works by poets. All these four works are in the *sāngatya* metre, in a simple and spirited style. An article containing the summary of the work "*Kumāra Rāmana Sāngatya*" by the poet Ganga is published by Mr. M. H. Rama Sarma in the Q. J. M. S. for October 1929.* An outline of the story of "*Paradūra Sōdara Rūmana Kathe*" by poet Nanjunda is given in M. A. R. for 1929 at pp. 36 to 47.

Hampeya Charapati Mahālingasvāmy has written a work by name "*Bāla Kumāra Rāmana Sāngatya*". This work contains nineteen cantos (ಸಂಧಿಗಳು) and 4283 verses. The poet has paid homage to Kavi Kāḷidasa, Kanaka, Talapada, Channa, Purundhara-Vittala Harakavi, Hampeya Hari, Raghavanka, Kereyapadmarasa, Kavilinga and others. The poet belonged to the Revanacarya Sampradaya of Melanagave of Śivagange (ರೇವಣಾಚಾರ್ಯರ ಮುಳುಲಗ್ರ ಶಿವಗಂಗೆ ಮೇಲಣವಿಯ ಸ್ಥಾನಗಳು) and wrote this work by the grace of the God Virupākśa (ವಿರೂಪಾಕ್ಷ ವರದ). The poet might have lived during the sixteenth century A.D. This is a very rare manuscript copy in my possession.

Another work on Kumāra Rāma is the one written by poet Nagasangayya by name *Paranāriyarige Sahodaranembantha kathe*" (ಪರನಾರಿಯರಿಗೆ ಸಹೋದರನೆಂಬಂತ ಕತೆ) which contains twenty-five cantos and 2573 verses. The author is no doubt a Śaiva as he has paid homage to Śiva and Pārvathi. He has also referred to the deities Viresa (ವೀರೇಶ) of Lepakṣi, Channavira, Śri Kṛṣṇa and Jaṭangi Rameśa. Though he has paid homage to the learned in general he has not mentioned the names of any earlier poets.

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* The Exploits of King Kampila and Kumara Ramanatha (Ganga's version) —By M. H. Rama Sharma, M.R.A.S. Supplement to "*The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*". October 1929.

An outline of the story as given by Nagasangayya is given below :—

1. A chieftain by name Mummadi Singa, Kirata by caste, was ruling a petty kingdom in eastern Karnāṭaka country. He died of old age leaving behind him a queen Manchale and a young son Kampilarāya. Soon after his death a famine set in that country and hence Manchale Devi left the country with her son and followers. They temporarily settled near Jaṭangi Rāmagiri Hill close to the River Chinna Hagari. There he was blessed with a son by the favour of the deity Jaṭangi Rāmeśa who became the family God of Kampilarāya thence forward. Kampilarāya left the place and finally settled at a convenient place in the Hosamale valley near Kumārasvamy Hill.

2. Kampilarāya built there a fort called Hosmaledurga. He acknowledged the suzerainty of Jagadapparāya of Gutti and paid tribute to him. He became a crowned king. He married Hariyala Devi, daughter of an expelled king of Gujarat called Cha Rāmarāya. Hariyala Devi became a crowned queen and was blessed with a son by the family deity Jaṭangi Rāmeśa. He was a good athlete, delighted in wrestling, horse riding and elephant riding.

3. Kampilarāya while returning from the hunting ground met a beautiful maiden named Ratnaji whom he married forcibly. Hariyala Devi apprehended that Kumāra Rāma might be ensnared by Ratnaji's beauty. But Rāma consoled his mother by taking a vow that he would never swerve from the right path.

4. While Kumāra Rāma had gone for hunting he saw Kummatadurga which was in ruins. He thought that it was a convenient place to have for his capital. At his suggestion Kampilarāya got a new fort built by his minister Baichappa. Kumāra Rāma entered the new fort of Kummatadurga in an auspicious moment. He collected a large army and conquered the forts of Badāmi, Hanagallu and Monadi. Kampila's joy knew no bounds at his son's success, but the Jagadapparāya of Gutti and King Ballālaraya were alarmed. The heroic deeds of Kumāra Rāma were duly communicated to the Sultan of Delhi.

5. When Babamma the Delhi Sultan's daughter heard of the beauty and heroic deeds of Kumāra Rāma, she decided to marry him and none else. The Sultan promised her daughter that he would get Rāma to Delhi. But all his attempts became futile. The Sultan's soldiers were insulted by Kumāra Rāma by wearing the shoes of the Sultan.

6. Jagadapparāya, King of Gutty who was subordinate to the Sultan was ordered to attack Kumāra Rāma and send him to Delhi as a prisoner. Jagadapparāya's army was utterly defeated by Kumāra Rāma.

7. Jagadapparāya who was very much pleased with the valour of Kumāra Rāma gave him his daughter Rāmalādevi in marriage. Four other brides were selected and the marriage with five brides was celebrated with great pomp and pleasure on Thursday, the third day of the bright half of Magha.

8. Yappatirāja son of Vīra Rudra of Oragallu had a horse named Bolla which he had purchased for a lakh of varahas. Kumāra Rāma went to Oragallu and in a battle that ensued he defeated Yappatirāja and captured this famous horse Bolla. Devi Setti Linga a general of Rudrarāya abandoned his master and joined Kumāra Rāma and they became thick friends later on.

9. Marane Gowda, a chief of Huliyar Nādu under Hoysaḷa Ballaḷa Rāya heard of the triumph of Kumāra Rāma and told his generals that he would march against Kumāra Rāma and bring him a prisoner. When this boast reached the ear of Kumāra Rāma, he immediately marched againt Huliyar, defeated Marana Gowda who paid a tribute and also presented Kumāra Rāma with a parrot of golden colour. Rāma returned home triumphant.

10-12. A Sirdar by name Bahadur Khan incurred the displeasure of the Sultan of Delhi. He immediately left the place and sought the protection of the several kings of Southern India. It was Kumāra Rāma who promised him protection. Nemi Khan, a trusted general of the Sultan of Delhi, marched against Kummatadurga with a large army and sent word in advance to Kampilarāya offering certain terms. Kumāra Rāma refused to surrender Bahadur Khan and styled himself as "*Marehokkavara Śarekoduva Rāyara*

Ganda". The general surrounded the hilly tract of Kummatadurga and a fierce battle ensued. Nemi Khan could not fight with the Bedars in the Hilly tract and was finally defeated and returned to Delhi.

13. Nemi Khan sent a letter to Ballaḷarāya requesting him to fight with Kumāra Rāma and to capture him alive. Ballaḷarāya with the help of the armies of Rudrarāya of Oragallu, Singarāya of Mungali Desa and the Musalmans of Chippagiri (A muhammedan garrison was stationed at Chippagiri in the Bellary District) and others attacked a fort belonging to Kumāra Rāma. Ballaḷarāya was overcome and he entered into a compromise.

14. In the next spring Kampilarāya went on a hunting expedition with his retinue while Kumāra Rāma collected all the boats in the town and went to the River Tungabhadra along with his friends and relatives and spent the day in boating till they were tired. Then they went to the Virupakśasvamy temple and offered prayers. They returned home in the evening.

15. Katanna suggested to Kumāra Rāma to engage themselves in a ball-play. Kumāra Rāma persuaded his mother to give him the pearl ball while she tried to disuade him from the ball-play. As her warnings proved futile she gave him the ball. Many nobles and friends took part in the game. The plain in front of Ratnaji's palace was chosen as the play ground. Citizens and a number of dancing girls of Kummatadurga assembled there to witness the ball-play.

16-17. Ratnaji the most beloved wife of Kampilarāya who heard the noise and laughter made by the party during the play went to the upper storey of the palace to witness the game. Sangi, the maiden servant of Ratnaji was pointing out each member of the play to Ratnaji. When she saw Kumāra Rāma she fell in love with him forgetting she was his step-mother. Through ill-luck the ball fell within the compound of Ratnaji's palace. Immediately she took the ball and worshipped it keeping it on her cot. Kumāra Rāma sent Katanna and then Balluga to fetch the ball, Ratnaji refused to give it to any other than to Rāma himself. So in spite of several warnings he went to his step-mother's apartment to fetch the ball. When Ratnaji saw him she expressed

her passion to him and made several overtures. Kumāra Rāma's advice fell on a deaf ear. He tried to get away from the palace, but she would not allow him. He forcibly withdrew from the palace.

18. Infuriated Ratnaji misrepresented these facts to Kampilarāya and told him that she would die unless Rāma's head was cut off. The king sent word with Bhandarada Bukkanna to the minister Baichappa to cut off Rāma's head immediately.

19. The clever minister ascertained the truth of the incident and concluded that Rāma was innocent. He concealed Kumāra Rāma in an underground cell specially prepared with several of his companions. The head of one Kalla Bhanta Rāma (which resembled Kumāra Rāma's head) was cut off with his consent and it was shown to Ratnaji as a token of his death. The news of Rāma's death spread all over Bhartakhanda immediately.

20. The Sultan who learnt the news sent his general Nemi Khan with a large army to capture Kummatadurga. At the approach of this large army, Kumāra Rāma's subjects fled in all directions. Nemi Khan sent word to Kampila to surrender Bahadur Khan and be happy. The King refused to do so. A fierce battle ensued and many persons lay dead on both sides.

21. Nemi Khan determined to take the fort by storm and advanced as far as the Tiger gate (ಹುಲಿ ಕಂಡಿ). Kampilarāya was disheartened at this and felt sorry for having executed his son. The tactful minister consoled the king and promised him to make arrangements to drive away the enemy. At the reqnest of the minister, Kumāra Rāma and his companions came out of the cell and fought bravely. When Tumbara Khan, a prominent general of the Muhammadan army fell down dead, Nemi khan being disheartened at this disastrous defeat retreated. Kampilarāya's joy knew no bounds when he found out that the new cavaliar was no other than his son Kumāra Rāma, but Ratnaji and her maid servant committed suicide.

22. Kampilarāya who was over-joyed at the success of his son crowned him king. Many outsiders came and settled in his country. The kingdom was peaceful. The Samantas of Ikkeri,

Kalyanna, Kalburgi, Sāgara, Bādāmi, Toregallu, Basavāpattana and Sira paid tributes to him.

23. Kumāra Rāma then went on a pilgrimage to Hampi Virupakṣa and Jaṭangi Rameśvara accompanied with his parents and retinue. He visited several important places in his kingdom enquiring after the welfare of his people. He built dharmasālas, tanks, and wells wherever needed.

24. The Sultan of Delhi was very sorry at his general's defeat. A maid servant of the Sultan, a native of middle Konkana by name Matangi, promised that she would capture Rāma and bring him alive to the Sultan's presence. The Delhi army once again marched to Kummatadurga which was 360 *gavudas* distant from Delhi. When Kumāra Rāma learnt of this, he made arrangements to defend the Fort and for greater safety, he sent his parents together with the Treasury, the family and children of Bahadur Khan,—500 horsemen and the minister Baichappa to Hosadurga. In the fierce battle that ensued the Muhammadans were severely beaten and routed and an immense booty captured. Matangi saying that it was impossible to fight against Kumāra Rāma in the the hills and dales that surrounded Kummatadurga, retreated with the nobles for a *gavuda* distance. Kumāra Rāma returned home happy.

25. The Teluga manneyars who were serving Rāma and who bore a grudge against him as he was wearing an anklet in proof of one of his titles 'champion over nine lakhs of Telugas' (ನವಲಕ್ಷ ತೆಲುಗರಗಂಡ) betrayed him by requesting Matangi to return and lay siege to the fort when they would open the fort-gates. Matangi made use of the opportunity and got a large of number of Bedars killed before day-break. Next morning Kumāra Rāma learning the news, mounted his horse Bolla and proceeded to the war-field. Ramayya fighting furiously caught hold of Matangi with her plaited hair (ಎೞರಜಡೆ) and raised his sword to kill her, but on a second thought he let her go putting the sword in his sheath as a hero should not kill a woman even in battle. The ungrateful woman, using this advantage hit him with an arrow which struck him in his chest. When Ramayya pulled out the arrow, blood oozed out abundantly and his face faded away. He then ordered the gates to be

closed and went to Guge-kallu and sent word to his parents with Katanna that his death was nearing. Kumāra Rāma's wives and other ladies smeared their bodies with saffron paste and went in the streets singing the glorious deeds of Rammayya. They then worshipped Gouri and entered the flames laughingly and burnt themselves to death. Katanna killed his wife plunging the sword into her chest. He returned to the war-field and communicated everything to his brother Ramayya. Katanna killing the enemy without numbers fell down dead. When Kumāra Rāma saw this he closed his eyes for the last time.*

* The work abruptly ends here.

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On the Ancient Greek Myth about the Metamorphosis of Daphne into the Laurel Tree

BY THE LATE SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

THE tree, which is mentioned in the underdescribed ancient Greek myth, is the Bay or Sweet Laurel (*Laurus nobilis*) which belongs to the order *Lauridae*. In this order are included *sassafras*, *benzoin*, *camphor* and other trees which are well-known for their aromatic and medicinal qualities. It is a large evergreen shrub which occasionally attains to the height of sixty feet but seldom assumes the appearance of a true tree. Its leaves are smaller than those of the other species of laurels and possess an aromatic and slightly bitter flavour. But they are quite free from the poisonous properties of the Cherry Laurel (*Prunus laure-cerasusvar caucasia*). The Bay or sweet Laurel is a native of Italy, Greece and North Africa.

The Bay or sweet Laurel is generally believed to be the Daphne of the ancients. The ancient Greeks narrated the following myth to account for the origin of this tree:—

In ancient Greece, there was a beautiful grove in which a nymph named Daphne lived. One day while Daphne was wandering in this grove, Cupid the god of love shot an arrow of lead into her heart; and the girl felt a cold shiver of hatred run through her. Thereafter Cupid shot a golden arrow into the heart of the sun-god Apollo who had, shortly before, slain the terrible monster named Python. No sooner had the sun-god Apollo caught a glimpse of the beautiful nymph Daphne, who was at that time wandering about in her grove, than he fell deeply in love with her: and just as quickly Daphne had been made to hate Apollo. Thereafter she turned to flee from him into the woods. Apollo pursued her quickly, calling to her not to be afraid and not to run so fast, for fear she might hurt herself on the thorns and brambles.

At last Apollo shouted out to her: "Do not try to run away from me. I love you and will do you no harm. I am the great sun-god Apollo."

But Daphne was only the more terrified on hearing these words, and ran away more swiftly while Apollo still pursued her. He had almost overtaken her when she stretched out her arms to her father who was the god of a river along whose banks she was fleeing. She cried: "O father! help me! help me! help me! Either let the earth open up and engulf me within her, or metamorphose this form of mine so that Apollo will not love me."

Hardly had she finished her appeal for help, when her limbs grew heavy, and a thin bark began to cover her skin. Her hair became changed into green leaves, her arms to slender and slim branches, and her feet, which had carried her along so quickly, were now rooted to the ground. Her father had responded to her appeal for assistance and had metamorphosed her into a laurel tree.

When Apollo saw that his beautiful Daphne had become a tree, he wept and threw his arms about the newly-formed bark and said: "Since you cannot be my wife, fair Daphne! at least you shall be my tree, my laurel. Your foliage shall be used to crown the heads of victors and shall be green alike in summer and in winter." And so it happened—the laurel has become Apollo's emblem from that day on, and has become the symbol of honour and triumph.

From a careful study of the foregoing myth and of the account of the superstitious beliefs connected with the laurel, which has been recorded by the Roman naturalist Pliny, we find that:—

(1) The ancient Greeks believed in the existence of a vegetation-spirit which resided in the blood of certain human beings and of particular semi-divine personages such as nymphs, which vegetation-spirit, after the death of its possessor, became developed and grew up into trees, shrubs and flowers.

(2) The ancient Greeks looked upon death as an ugly event and, for this reason, contrived to make the deaths of virtuous men and women, and of handsome young men

and maidens look beautiful and pretty by metamorphosing their dead bodies into trees and flowering shrubs, as in the cases of Philemon and Baucis, Narcissus and Hyacinthus.

(3) The ancient Greeks thought that the Bay or sweet Laurel was sacred to the sun-god Apollo, "especially in connection with Tempe, in whose laurel-groves the said god himself attained purification from the blood of the monster Python (whom he had slain). This legend was dramatically represented at the Pythian festival once in eight years. On this occasion, a boy who had fled from Delphi to Tempe, was after a time, led back with song, crowned and adorned with laurel".

(4) In ancient Greece, the victors at the Pythian Games used to be crowned with the laurels of the sun-god Apollo. In this way, the sweet Laurel or Bay became the symbol of triumph in ancient Rome as well as in ancient Greece.

(5) As Apollo was reputed to be the god of the poets, meritorious poets in ancient Greece and Rome were rewarded with the *Laura Appollinaris.*

(6) According to the Roman naturalist Pliny, the Bay or sweet Laurel was, like the branch of the olive-tree, the symbol of truce and victory. For this reason, letters announcing victory and the arms and weapons of the victorious soldiery used to be be-garlanded and be-wreathed with the leaves of the laurel-tree.

(7) The ancient Romans believed that lightning could not strike the Bay or sweet Laurel. For this reason, the Roman Emperor Tiberius always wore a wreath of laurel-leaves during thunderstorms as a sort of protection from the lightning-stroke. The fore-going ancient Roman superstition bears a striking similarity to the modern Bengali Hindu belief under the influence of which Hindu householders in Bengal place, on the terraces of their houses, pots with plants of the manasa or sij (*Euphorbia merii folia*) growing in them. This is believed to protect the houses from being struck by lightning.

(8) It is on account of the ancient Greek and Roman belief that the tree possessed the divine power of purification and protection that it was often planted before the doors of Greek houses, while, in ancient Rome, this tree used to be planted before the gates of the palaces of the Cæsars in order that it might serve as guardians and protectors thereof.

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REVIEWS

Administration and Social Life Under Vijayanagara—By T. V. Mahalingam, Madras University Historical Series No. 15, Price Rs. 7.

MUCH progress has been made in the study of the Vijayanagara Empire since Sewell's day and since Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar started his interesting study on the Making of Mysore over forty years ago. On the third dynasty of Vijayanagara itself a number of books has been published and Father Heras who challenged the genuineness of many of the inscriptions concerning Vijayanagara is responsible for the increasing interest in this study during the last decade. The foundation of the empire had in its origin the protection of Hindu civilization and while religious movements which arose later divided the Hindu society, yet all great religious teachers and leaders of political thought rendered signal service in this rally against the onslaughts of Islam. The contribution of Vijayanagara to art and architecture, literature and administration and the social history of the period is vast since this empire followed the forms of governance in the Hindu India as we know them. It is interesting to remember that Vijayanagara provided co-rulers quite distinct from a prince or a Yuvarāja for distinct parts of the empire with a kind of concurrent jurisdiction, all under the king. We find that the selection of a ruler was by a unanimous vote of the people assembled and was made generally in the presence of ministers and nobles. The king was not an autocrat and his powers were limited by public opinion and by the royal council and by certain codes and institutions and had to be exercised and administered with due reference to the existing laws of the land.

The conqueror of Madura, Kampanna Udaiyar was according to tradition a door-keeper under the Hoysaḷa kings suggesting what may well be called the Karnāṭaka origin of the Vijayanagara Empire. The book is replete with details of administration, *viz.*, revenue, law, justice and police; military organisation; provincial government as also public warfare and diplomacy.

The influence of local bodies over the revenue policy of the government was great as the government could not impose new taxes or remit old ones without the consent of the mahānādu and the village assembly enjoyed the privilege of confirming honours on certain individuals for certain services rendered. The evil of bride-price with the other incidents of early marriage was in evidence. Sati, was in vogue apparently being copied from the original home of the Vijayanagara Empire, the Hoysaḷa country where the house-holders had familiarised it. Apart from women ascending the funeral pyre of the husband or burning themselves in the fire, the Lingayat ladies were being buried with their dead husbands as Nuniz says; and this custom also obtained perhaps among the goldsmiths according to Ceasar Fredrick and Gaspero Balbi. An inscription [EC. VIII Sb 496, 165, etc.] of the sixteenth century also mentions this but this kind of self-immolation does not appear to have been enjoined upon all widows but was influenced by marital affection and was done voluntarily. Family women were of a retiring disposition and seldom came out to take an active part in public although there are instances of queens following the army to the battle-field. When Krishnadēvarāya laid siege to the fort of Kondavīdu in 1515 *A.D.* his two queens Chinnadeviamma and Tirumaladeviamma were with him. Salām by feudatories and captains to the ruling sovereign was common. The king confers very high honour if he permits any one to kiss his feet as he never gives his hands to be kissed as Nuniz remarks. The Vijayanagara emperors restored ruined temples and revived worship in them, preserved the spread of Hindu dharma and in this arduous task they were helped by Vidyāthirtha, Kriyāśakti Pandita of the Paśupata school of Śaivism, Vēdanta Deśika and a number of scholars including Sāyaṇācārya and Madhavācārya who founded a school which wrote the commentaries on the Vēdas, Āraṇyakas and the Brāhmaṇas.

The Vijayanagara Kings built the Vidyaśaṅkara temple at Śringeri, the Ēkanātheśvara and Varadarājasvami temples at Kañci. The additions to the temple at Chittoor and the Svargavilasam or the celestial pavilion measuring 235 feet long and 105 feet broad was also made.

S. S.

Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnātic II—Burhan's Tuzak-I-Walajahi—Madras University Islamic Series No. 4. Price Rs. 5 or *Sh.* 8 *d.* 6.

Mr. Nainar in this Volume carries the history of the Nawwābs of the Carnāṭic from the battle of Ambur to the fall of Pondicherry, comprising most of the events that tended in the direction of establishing the supremacy of the East India Company. The English were indebted to the rulers of the Walajahi dynasty in the Carnāṭic. Persian manuscripts have been laid under obligation for the sources of the history and their translation is very useful to students of south Indian history. The severe fight between Hazarat-i-A'la and Dosat Khan is described clearly and this suggests the visit of Dosat Khan. The allies defeated the French and Clive too had led a personal attack with a small army much to the discomfiture of the French. The martyrdom of Dosat Khan and Hazarat-i-A'la, the further preparations of the English to defeat the French and the intrigues of Dupleix render the translation complete. The English conference with Hazarat-i-A'la and Lally's plan of campaign are given in great detail.

S. S.

Shuja-ud-Daulah. Vol. I.—By A. S. Srivastava, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. Professor of History, Dungar College, Bikaner, Price Rs. 5 or 7 *sh.* 6 *d.*

This volume covers the period 1754 to 1765 in the history of India, gives the first half of the life of Shuja-ud-Daulah and describes the commencement and expansion of British domination over Allahabad and Oudh. Shuja-ud-Daulah the only heir of Safdar Jung became the governor of Oudh and Allahabad in October 1754. As he was indifferent to the business of administration and immersed in sensual pleasures, the important work of the State and all real power passed into the hands of Ismail Khan. Ismail Khan was looked upon as the protector of the people as Shuja-ud-Daulah's bad character made him unpopular but Ismail Khan's death in 1755 brought about an open rupture between his ministers. In 1756 Ahamed Shah Abdali of Kabul swooped down the fair fields of the Punjab and entered Delhi and returned to Afghanisthan

in 1757 after devastating the country as far south as Muttra and Agra. Between the Mughals and Shuja-ud-Daulah there was trouble when the latter sought the Mahratta aid but peace was restored in January 1757. The Mahrattas were anxious to spread their dominion over the whole of Hindustan but it was not possible. Ahamed Shah Abdali gained over Shuja-ud-Daulah and Shuja-ud-Daulah was found in the Afghan camp on the battle-field afterwards on the 14th of January 1761. The Mahratta force after the loss of its valiant leader was utterly annihilated leaving the Shah victorious. Shuja-ud-Daulah did much humanitarian work after the Mahratta defeat. Shuja-ud-Daulah returned to Oudh after a grand victory. The English suspected the ambitious designs of Shuja-ud-Daulah in the eastern parts of the Oudh dominion, when Siraj-ud-Daulah was defeated at Plassey and the English became the real power behind the new Nawab's throne. The hotly contested battle at Buxar settled the position. The shadowy Mughal Emperor with whose name was associated an incredibly great moral and political prestige was held in his leading strings. Shuja was the most important and influential Indian Chief of the time. The victory proved so decisive and complete that the British and their troops met with no further opposition. Shuja-ud-Daulah, the erst-while proud wazir of the Empire and the ruler of the millions, became a fugitive and his dominion lay before the feet of the English whom he had commanded a few months previously. He threw himself on the mercy of the English and the final struggle was over. It is an interesting narrative well described.

S. S.

A College Text-Book of Indian History. Vols. I & II. (Vol. I. India Down to A.D. 1200. Vol. II. 1200—1700 A.D.) By R. Sathianathaier, Published by Messrs. Rochouse & Sons, Ltd. 292, The Esplanade, Madras.

We have here a brief and up-to-date account of the history of India, with views balanced on many a topic still open to comment and criticism, well illustrated with chapters on religion, social life and culture and a section on greater India concerning Indian enterprise abroad. Harappa, Mohenjodaro, Singanpur,

Perambair and Adichchanallur were among the pre-historic sites discovered during recent years and the remains unearthed give an account of a complex and luxurious social life in contrast with the simple rural and agricultural life of the early Vēdic times, since images, goddesses and lingas were characteristic of the Indus civilization. The Āryanisation of India was a long process graphically pictured in the Vēdic literature and the Rāmāyaṇa presents glimpses of the Āryanisation of South India. The geographical outlook of the Ṛg Veda is confined to North-Western India; the Yajur Vēda shows a wider knowledge of Northern India and summarises the geographical knowledge of the Vēdas; the Brāhmaṇas mention a number of cis-Vindhyan tribes and peoples. During the creative period of the four Vēdas and in the subsequent period of the Upaniṣads and the reclamation of India to Āryan ways, the progress stage by stage is noticed. Then come the Itihāsās and the Purāṇas. An Indo-Āryan society is found in the Puruṣa Sūkta; whether interpolated or not, existing as a fact apparently, the Vēdic reference to the four castes is fixed somewhere about the ninth century *B.C.* Kosala, Kaśi, Mithila and Kaḷinga are mentioned in the early Vēdic times. The sixth century *B.C.* witnessed religious and political developments of far-reaching consequences. Buddha, Heraclitus, Isaiah, Confucius and Lao Tse were of this period and the quest was religious. Whether it was due to revolt from Brāhman domination or otherwise, the religious dissent was prompted by the soulless sacrificial system laid down in the Karmakāṇda of the Vedas. With the foundation of the Achaemenian Empire, closer relations developed between Iran and India. There was an impetus to Indo-Iranian commerce and the Achaemenian domination was responsible for the prevalence of the Kharoṣti script in the North-Western part of India till the third century *A.D.* The foreign influence on the punch-marked coins of India is doubtful though there was undeniably foreign influence on Mauryan sculpture. Alexander the Great, who had heard of a fabulously wealthy and mysterious India, containing men and things out of the range of ordinary human experience, with the spirit of geographical enquiry and a passion for natural history, was influenced in his decision to invade India which contained princes

and princelings and republican clans with a fierce love of autonomy and he left permanent effects on the Mauryan Empire.

We are all familiar with the contribution of Aśōka to Buddhism. The Mauryan revolution in the time of his predecessor was said to be Brāhmanical and popular, protracted and bloody. Concerning Candragupta's abdication the author also says at p. 78, that the available archaeolgical evidence in support of the story is far from being contemporary not earlier than the seventh century *A.D.* while the tradition under consideration is generally accepted as in the main historical. The historical value of the edicts of Aśōka is in the light they throw on the aspects of life and religion throughout and beyond India at that time. His name is found in the Maski edicts and elsewhere he is referred to by his title Devanammpiya Piyadasi Rāja. As stated elsewhere, the empire of Aśōka influenced parts of Southern India. The Rock Edict II mentions the Cōḷas, the Pāndyas, the Satiyaputra and the Keralaputra as far as Tāmraparni as neighbouring powers obtaining the advantages of Aśōka's healing arrangements for men and animals. As we proceed, we find the story of India stage by stage and century after century and volume II continues the history of the Yadu dynasty and others. The decline of Buddhism is traced to the growing strength of Brāhmanism and the triumph of Kumarila and Śamkara. Though Buddhism sufferred to some extent from the violence of Puśyamitra Sunga, Mihiragula, Saśānka and Muhammad-bin-Bakhtyar, the Hun invasions in general were more injurious to it than a few persecutions here and there. The decline of Buddhism began in the seventh century in south India and in the eighth century in northern India: and its collapse under muslim inconoclasm was the formal stage of its exit from India. Changes made in Buddhism to suit the tastes of its multitudinous and heterogeneous followers would have made Buddha himself find it difficult to recognize his religion for he recommended a short-cut to salvation and envisaged *nirvāṇa* as a near reality whereas the Mahāyānism treated it as a distant goal to be attained in the long run. In the sphere of religion and social life, besides the doctrine of *ahimsa*, the aversions for animal food and the growing popularity of the Vēdic sacrifices, organised religious propaganda and conversion, monastic

life, image worship, temples, festivals and processions, pilgrimage to holy places and gentleness and charity, may be mentioned as the Buddhist influence on Indian life. Jainism had a chequered career but its devotees, though not in the Tamil country, are found in large numbers in northern India. The Indian intellectual sovereignty was undoubtedly due to the great contribution India made to the influence of international thought and to Buddha Dharma.

Volume II may well be styled the rise and growth of the Muhammadan dominion in India. The vicissitudes of Indian life on coming into contact with the followers of the Prophet of Arabia have been described elsewhere and need no repetition here. Administrative systems, large projects, art and architecture, culture and attempts at a religious synthesis were marked features of a devastating period in Indian political history. Rāmānuja, Madhva, Vidyāraṇya, Rāmānanda, Kabir, Vallabhacārya, Chaitanya, Nanak, amongst the many, may be mentioned in this connection. Sympathy with inferiors, love for equals and reverence for superiors as well as a faithful devotion to the supreme creator of the universe was taught by all and sundry. Akbar's attempt to establish a universal religion, to supply a strong bond of union, blending the twin cultures of the Hindu and the Mussalman, let us hope will now at least be crowned with suceess when a common enemy of civilisation and progress is at the gate.

S. S.

Ancient India. Vol. III.—By Tribhuvandas L. Shah, L.M. & S., M.R.A.S. Published by Messrs. Sashikant & Co., Baroda. Price Rs. 9 or *Sh.* 15.

INDIAN History by Tribhuvandas L. Shah is a marvellous array of wholly new and eye-opening theories claimed to be substantiated with facts and figures, from coins, inscriptions and authoritative writers. The present volume begins from 900 *B.C.* and ends with 100 *A.D.* The author has an ambition to publish the life of Priyadarsin and Mahavīra and thirty volumes of Encyclopedia Jainica. Absolute truth will persist in spite of a torrent of diverse criticism passing through various vicissitudes and will claim a

dispassionate reading. The author gives an account of the foreign races that invaded India including Gardabhila dynasty and furnishes us fresh details of Patanjali, Puśyamitra, Agnimitra, Vasumitra and Kalki and the part played by Demetrius and Menander in bringing about the downfall of the Sungas. The repercussions of Āryan and foreign civilizations *inter se* and on Indian life have been duly described. Mathura and Taxila are dealt with afresh in the appendix. The Abhiras, the Trikūṭas, the Osvalas, the Srimals and the Gūrjaras—information about them is given in a connected narrative. Chapters are devoted to the different eras that were founded in ancient India. Their origin and duration and maps showing the territorial extents of various kings and illustrations of ancient sculptures and coins are also to be found. The author has relied for his work on legends, traditions, inscriptions, coins and contemporary incidents narrated in historical treatises of other countries wherever they are available. He has drawn inferences from the skeleton of chronology in the wake of Vincent Smith. At p. 15 of the Introduction, he says if it be proved that during the time when Priyadarśi was on the throne of Magadha, the five kings whose names are stated in R. E. XIII of Priyadarsin, were ruling over particular territories, that during the same time particular Ceylonese kings were on the throne and that Si-Hu-Wang, the great Chinese emperor built the famous gigantic wall during the same time, the logical conclusion would be that they were all contemporaries. Hence Aśōka and Priyadarsin according to the author were not one and the same individuals. It may not be possible for us to agree with many of his conclusions but none can withhold credit for the remarkable industry and endeavour which has been exhibited in this work. The illustrations are excellent and the maps are very helpful.

S. S.

History of Madras and Ananda Ranga Pillai—The 'Pepys' of French India. By Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A. Published by Messrs. P. Varadachary & Co. Madras.

RAO SAHEB SRINIVASACHARI has devoted many years to the study of the history of Madras—Madras has assumed a

topical importance also now—which he has traced from the earliest beginnings to the present day. Parts of Madras are old while the city itself is of modern growth. The pre-historic remains and objects of archæological and architectural interest are many. The land on which the city is built is of post-tertiary formation. The Cooum River is one of the most prominent features of the City and it is crossed by numerous bridges in its winding course. The hot months do not approach that of Northern India, the heat being mitigated by the cool winds of the sea while the cooler months are never really cold. Fort St. George is the centre from which the city has expanded on all sides with the sea on the East. In the neighbourhood of Madras stone implements of the paleolithic age are found suggesting that apparently in pre-historic times there was a mighty river flowing through a valley in the region to the north-west of the city where the Kortaiyar now flows and in this valley pre-historic man of the paleolithic and neolithic ages might have flourished and Bruce-Foote refers to a few cave-like rock-shelters of primitive man. The sarcophagi tombs at Pallavaram marked by plain and unornamented pottery have led to the conclusion that these graves were possibly of the neolithic age. There are finds at the cementry at Kilpauk and other places which are supposed to be of the iron age. Urn burials are referred to in ancient Tamil literature as a living custom and Madras may easily become the *mecca* of Indian Pre-historians. Coming to historical times, the ancient temple at Triplicane is of the eighth century and that at Mylapore has been closely associated with the Portuguese town of San Thome from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There appears to have been an early Jaina temple dedicated to the Tīrthankara Nemināthа which was later on swallowed up by the encroaching sea. Mylapore served as a port for the Pallava kingdom of Kānci. The historical and cultural importance of Madras and its neighbourhood is a continuous one and did not disappear with the disappearance of the Hindu dominion of South India and Madras is one of the principal fields of European commercial enterprise. A broad marina along the sea-front extending to over two miles from San Thome to Fort St. George has a most attractive feature where all Madras pours out of an evening on foot,

on bicycles, in carriages and in motors, to feel the bracing and cool evening breeze that blows in from the sea. Though Madras is not the earliest British settlement in India, it constitutes their first territorial acquisition. The story of Madras abounds with the history of South India and Professor Srinivasachari is entitled to our gratitude for this excellent work on the capital of South India.

ANANDA RANGA PILLAI the famous courtier of Dupleix, has left documents of the greatest value for the history of Pondicherry and of the French in India in his diary. It contains descriptive sketches about the personalities with whom he came into contact and furnishes rich and precise information about the Government of Pondicherry, about Dupleix and his successors. He was a well-known public man whose diary was published many years ago in several volumes. The existence of that diary was unknown till 1846 and the Secretary of the Historical Records of French India, M. Gallois Montburn, was responsible for bringing it into the hands of the English authorities as we have remarked in our review of the diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai. Prof. Dodwell, who edited the diary, in his introduction to the last volume of the English translation said that though no one would ever take the trouble of reading the diary for its own sake, still it would be valuable as dealing with a particularly critical period during which not only Ranga Pillai rose and fell but the struggle has decided whether India was to be dominated from Paris or London. Chapters in this diary of the Pepys of French India make a fascinating study and the diary is one of our chief authorities for the period of which it gives a march of momentous events in India with an almost photographic fidelity. The whole period is instinct with energy and vital experience. The tempestuous personality of Dupleix moves with epic majesty through the intrigues of Indian rulers, through rapine and disorder fomented by adventurers and free-lances which are here recalled. The organisation of this remarkable person, his strange and enigmatic personality, the gravest defect in his character and administration are all brought out without omitting even the smallest detail. He watched the lights and shadows of sentiment and feeling among the neighbouring rulers

with the consummate skill of a supreme artist in intrigue. Of the men and circumstances of the time, Ranga Pillai was a close and interested observer; and he was the only Indian observer whose views are directly positively known to us. Ananda Ranga Pillai was better informed on political matters than any other Indian whom the court at Pondicherry could have kept. Canda Sahib's thoughts upon Dupleix or Yusuf Khan's opinions on the campaigns of Lally would have revealed important aspects of the conflict. But they would hardly have displayed more fully and closely the Indian attitude towards events which were so deeply to influence the course of modern Indian history. For a considerable time, Ranga Pillai was the foremost Indian merchant in an essentially mercantile community and the main intermediary between the Governor and the Indians whom he governed. His business was to know all that was going forward in the Indian quarter, to learn the news that the bankers' agents received from their correspondents, to watch the course of trade and feel accurately the pulse of sentiment. For a considerable time, he was the Foreign Secretary to the Governor translating letters or getting them translated, suggesting appropriate answers, minutiæ of Oriental etiquette and himself corresponding with distant ministers. His journal does not contain empty rumours or mere bazaar news but the political information he gives is of great value. The public is grateful to Rao Sahib for a handy compendium of this voluminous diary.

S. S.

The Early History of Ceylon—By G. C. Mendis, B.A., Ph.D. Published by the Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 5, Russell Street, Calcutta, Price Rs. 1-12-0 paper bound, Rs. 2-8-0, cloth bound.

THE frontispiece of the work has a facsimile of the Saśa Jātaka, and the illustrations include a fresco of the Jetavana Vihara, Polanaruva. Mahāvaṁśa and Dīpavaṁsa are the historical traditions for the Island of Ceylon, and in Pāli characters. The illustrations are excellent types of the architecture of Ceylon and are drawn from all parts of the island country. The landing of Vijaya with his seven hundred followers is said to be the first human

settlement though the story of man in Ceylon goes back to far earlier times. Owing to its geographical situation Ceylon contains mostly people of Indian origin and they exercised a great influence on its history in every way. Though separated from the mainland of India, on all parts it is closely linked with India. Yet the influence of Buddhism and the fact that it has been cut off from the mainland by a narrow stretch of sea has helped it to maintain a continuity in its civilization much better than any part of India itself where great invasions and upheavals have often shattered the vestiges of its ancient and glorious past. Therevāda Buddhism which made its way to Ceylon in the third century B.C. has maintained itself in spite of many vicissitudes and it still claims more adherents than any other religion in the island. Lying midway between Europe and the Far East, the island came into close contact with traders from the East and West. The island is referred to by Periplus and by Ptolemy. The earliest settlers of Ceylon were Veddas who left no written record and about whom very little is known or can be said with any accuracy though they belong to the same racial stock as pre-Dravidian jungle tribes of South India such as the Iruḷas and the Kurumbars, and are also apparently racially connected with the Todas of the Celebes, the Batin of Sumatra, and the Australian aboroginies and coming in the earliest stages of man's development. They made no contribution to the civilization of Ceylon and their only service lay in the help they rendered in forming the Sinhalese race. Dr. Seligmann is of opinion that the Bandāra cult among the Kandyans, which consists of making offerings to the deceased chiefs and prominent ancestors, is a remnant of the Vedda practice of propitiating the dead. The Āryans who entered India long before 1000 *B.C.* migrated to Ceylon from the Northern parts of India by about the fifth century *B.C.* thus beginning an important stage in the history of Ceylon. They introduced iron, brought agriculture and the system of village government which persists even to the present day. The other stock of people were the Dravidians. There is no doubt that Buddhism had spread into Ceylon evidently from the first century *B.C.* and Polonaruva, Anuradhapura, Aluvihare and many other parts contain evidences of Buddhism and marvellous examples

of the Buddhist art which it has left behind. Aśōka sent a missionary to Ceylon in the third century *B.C.* and King Devanampiya Tissa ruler of Anurādhapura welcomed him and got constructed countless structures at Anurādhapura itself. Buddhism brought about a certain sense of unity among the people of the island. The Āndhras were followers of Buddhism giving every encouragement to Buddhism and their activities can be seen from the remains of the dagobas and sculptures at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa on the river Kṛṣṇa and the famous halls cut out of the rock at Kārle, Nasik and Ajanta in western India, and Nagārjuna the great Buddhist teacher of the second century *A.D.* gave the doctrines of Mahāyāna Buddhism a definite form. The author has given a careful analysis and an accurate account of the history of Ceylon in every department of life and activity. The map of Anurādhapura is very interesting. It is one of the finest ruins of Ceylon and to it I have referred in detail in my lecture on Anurādhapura, QJMS. Vol. X pp. 331-352. The book is complete with a list of kings and dates, bibliography and index.

S. S.

A History of Tirupati. Vol. I.—By Rājasevāsakta Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Published by Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanam Committee, Madras.

WE are told that from 1904 Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar was gathering material for the History of Tirupati which he has now brought out at the request of the Devasthanami Committee. The records of the British Government concerning the sacred shrine, now-a-days attracting thousands of pilgrims, have not been made available to him with the result that the account is not up-to-date from the time of the British contact with this temple. Prior to the time of the Cōḷas, the Doctor has not found any inscription and explains their absence as due to the inaccessibility of Vengadam, that is Tirupati in those days, it being a subject of frontier disputes between the Āndhras and the Tamils at one period and the Pallavas and the Cāḷukyas in the succeeding period and the practice of recording gifts in inscriptions not being then in vogue. From such scanty material as can be gathered from the

Sangam literature, Purāṇas, works of Śrivaiṣṇava āḻvars and acāryas, Venkatāchala Itihāsa and inscriptions of the fourteenth century and later periods, the author presents to the public an interesting account touching the antiquity of Tirupati and its presiding deity. Himself a Śrivaiṣṇava devotee of the sacred hill, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar carefully eschews his personal leanings and tells us that at one time its worship savoured of Jainism and Buddhism and later of Śaivism until Śrī Rāmānujācārya restored, regulated and made rules for worship of the idol as Viṣṇu. Barring some fanatic outbursts of this or that āḻvar or acārya the account shows that Tirupati image has been all along worshipped both by the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas. Mysore has played no mean part in strengthening the hands of Śrī Rāmānujācarya in making Vengadam an out-and-out vaiṣṇava centre. The Devasthanam committee could not, we can confidently say, have found one more competent than the learned Doctor, combining in himself a historian of repute and an ardent devotee of the holy shrine for undertaking and bringing out for the information of the public a history which is at once readable, accurate and scholarly.

P. S. L.

History of the British Residency in Burma. 1826-1840—By W. S. Desai. Published by the University of Rangoon. Price Rs. 8 or *Sh.* 12

THIS volume gives a graphic account of the abuse and humiliation to which the British Residents at the Burmese capital J. Crawford, Henry Burney and R. Benson were subjected by the two Burmese kings, Bagyindaw and Tharrawaddy during the short period of nearly fifteen years between the conclusion of the first and the outbreak of the second Burmese wars. Further, we get an insight into the Anglo-Burmese and Indo-Burmese relations necessitating the urgent establishment of a more extensive influence and control over the Burmese court and putting up with anything short of actual aggression or national insult. The efforts of these officers to avoid war and at the same time to protect the British subjects during the reign of these two Burmese monarchs deserve all praise. The suggestion of the Residency to destroy all boats on the Salween River giving refuge to the Burmese robbers committing

robbery in the British territory incited by the Burmese government to keep the English in a state of alarm and disquietude was not acted upon by the Government of India with the inevitable result that trouble was brewing until the Second Burmese War broke out in 1852. The matter is well arranged and reads like a story.

P. S. L.

Studies in the History of Bengal Subah, 1740-70, Vol. I. Social and Economic—By Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Published by the University of Calcuctta, Calcutta.

MR. DATTA, a talented scholar and a medalist, has dealt, in this first volume of the Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah, with the different aspects of the social life of the country and has endeavoured a study of the economic condition of the Bengal Subah in the middle of the eighteenth century. Some hitherto unpublished sources have been used for the first time. The book is divided into four chapters. Education, its ideas and institutions, position of women, the laws and customs relating to marriage, the variety of dresses, use of ornaments by men on ceremonial days, dress of Hindustani men and women, and the relationship between the Hindus and the Muhammadans are all mentioned in the first chapter. In the second are described English Factories and investments giving us many new facts of considerable importance from the economic standpoint. The commercial relationship of Bengal with the other countries in Asia and elsewhere forms the subject-matter of the third chapter while in the last the several aspects of internal economic condition of Bengal under five different sections are clearly brought out. The appendices, bibliography and the index add to the value of the book. We look forward to the other volumes.

R. H. R.

A Manual of the Pudukkottai State, Volume II, Part I, Second and revised edition—Edited by K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar, Published under the authority of the Pudukkottai Durbar.

WE have in this Manual of Pudukkottai a general history of the State from the early times to the sixth century *A.D.* and the burial

urns and dolmens of proto-history and pre-history periods in section I with settlements of castes and tribes in section II followed by a historical account up to modern times leading to the formation of the Pudukkottai State itself. Natural caverns and rock shelters at Sittannavasal and elsewhere in Pudukkottai indicate the earliest abode of man in the neo-lithic and iron ages probablising the conjecture of the late Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar that this was the home of the Paleolithic man and the best district for the study of the burial customs of the neo-lithic man. The earliest lithic record in the State is of the second or third century *B.C.* in the natural cavern on the hill at Sittannavasal in Aśōkan-Brāhmī characters of the type peculiar to South India. *Panṟinādu* was one of the twelve divisions of the tamil country lying between Pandinādu in the south and Pulnād in the north. Some Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa kings of the Sangam age and the government of the Sangam period are all dealt with in this work. The seventh to ninth centuries mark the ascendency of the Pāṇḍyas who extended their conquests much beyond their traditional boundary of the Vellar, far into the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts and as far north as Kongunādu in the modern Coimbatore and Salem districts. Pudukkottai contributed to the material growth of the empire of the Cōlās of the Vijayalaya line, one of the greatest Hindu empires known to history. The king of that empire had soldiers, commanders, administrators, revenue officials and surveyors and merchants who carried on trade all over India and the Far East. The civil wars between Vira Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāṇḍya paved the way to the expedition of Mallik Kafur to Madura thereby marking a beginning of the decline of the second Pāṇḍyan Empire. After its revival the Hoysalas, however, had exercised control over parts of the State till they were defeated by Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya in about 1251. Ballala III tried to re-establish the Hoysaḷa power but the work was stopped on his death in the battle of Kannanur at the hands of Ghaiyas-ud-din in 1342. The subsequent history is culled from various works including the Mysore Gazeteer. The making of the State is clearly elucidated and the account is up-to-date.

S. S.

Pre-Buddhist India—By Ratilal N. Metha, M.A. With a foreword by Rev. Father H. Heras, S.J. Published by the Examiner Press, Bombay, Price Rs. 15.

PRE-BUDDHIST INDIA is a political survey from the Vēdic period down to the time of the Buddha and the administrative, economic, social and geographic conditions of ancient India during the two centuries immediately before the Buddhas's time called the Mahājanapāda period compiled from about five hundred and forty-seven Jātaka stories.

In this systematic and connected story of Pre-Buddhist India, in the " Dark Ages of India ", the author has let the starlight of the Jātakas to dispel the darkness in an interesting, critical and impartial account.

When confronted by the Dāsarata Jātaka and the Rāmāyāṇa versions of Rāma, the author adopts with Winternitz the view that at the time the Tripitaka came into being there was no Rāma Epic as yet and that it was created later by Vālmīki from old ballads then extant. But concerning the tale of the Five Pāṇḍavas he lets sentiment sway him before discussion or argument, so that he characterises the Jātaka as a fabrication prompted by the compiler's zeal to decry womankind, though there is no clear evidence concerning the original tale, the steps by which it was finally converted into a sort of national encyclopædia of tradition, morals and religion and the date when it first took that shape. Further, this epic is not behind the Jātakas since we find in some parts of the poem all action is suspended for religious edification or long discourses on morality. By resorting to this method of fitting the Jātaka version with the Hindu tradition, he weeds out a lot of material as of no historical value and has appended towards the end of the section of political history a long list of the names of forgotten kings leaving the task of identification to other scholars.

A grouping of the Jātakas in a chronological order would have enhanced the value of the book and facilitated the task of tracing the process of amalgamation of the two races, the Dravidians and the Āryans, which was going on during the period covered by this work. In his foreword, Father Heras no doubt hints at the

importance of this subject but thinks it to fall clearly outside the scope of Mr. Metha's present work. That the Jātakas championed the emancipation of caste held by the Āryan tradition cannot be ignored. The Samkhapala Jātaka (No. 524 in Cowell's Jātaka) exalts Duyyodhana, Prince of Maghada, to the rank of a Bodhisatta. All lovers of ancient culture and students of proto-Indian history are laid under a deep debt of gratitude to the author.

P. S. L.

Guide to Archæological Galleries and Illustrations of Indian Sculpture; Mostly Southern—By F. H. Gravely, D.SC., F.R.A.S.B. and C. Sivaramamurthy, M.A. Published by the Madras Government Museum, Madras. Price As. 8 and Re. 1-8-0, respectively.

It is a pleasure to go through the archæological galleries of the Madras Government Museum. The Introduction by Gravely and Sivaramamurthy and other Curators to South Indian Temple architecture and sculpture is excellently got up and helpful. In the guide there is an illustrative map of ancient and medieval Indian political geography. The Introduction begins with the stone implements first rough and then more highly polished and proceeds to consider the metal ones and then the early sculptures of the Amarāvati school and then the Græco-Buddhist school, the early indigenous sculpture of the Mauryas, Sungas, Āndhras and Kuṣāṇas and the Guptas followed by the South Indian temple architecture in its various designs. The development of corbel, pavilion and niche in the Tamil temple-architecture is well illustrated: so also the star-shaped tower from the Cāḷukyan country by means of diagrams. Architectural objects supplementing the photographic illustrations of South Indian temple architecture as far as possible have been grouped together in the middle section of the second Hindu gallery. Sculptures and coins are also included in the guide with an appendix on iconography. The illustrations of Indian sculptures are mostly southern.

S. S.

Archæological Remains and Excavations at Saṁbhar During Samvat 1933 and 1934 (1936-38 A. D)—By Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahani, C.I.E., M.A. Director of Archæological and Historical Research, Jaipur State. Price As. 8.

POSSIBILITIES of archæological researches in the Jaipur State are vast and this report, though small, is a useful book of information and deserves to be bound in a more permanent form. There is a large number of sites dating from the third century *B.C.* awaiting exploration. The ancient site near Saṁbhar was first noticed by Colonel T.F. Hendly who found the mound to be honey-combed, apparently used for scratching, lettering or decorative patterns on the surface of the pottery jar, ornaments of Conch bangles, ornamental pottery jars, terracotta-figurines among which, the figure of an ape seated on a tripod deserves special mention, tiny copper coins, bends of carnelin, and a pottery seal with seven impressions. There is a legend in Prakrit in Brāhmi characters of the second century, *B. C.* of Indraśarman. In house V, fragments of pottery representing the goddess Durga slaying a buffalo are found. Altogether 3,460 antiquities were registered including an enormous variety of objects but pottery, terracotta and shell objects and more than two thousand coins, including six silver punch-marked coins, some gold articles, copper objects, iron objects, iron dice, about two thousand figures and moulded plaques and reliefs of the Gupta period belonging to the group of Umamaheśvara. A number of coins presumably of the Mauryan kings of the third and second centuries *B. C.* have been discovered along with a considerable number of portable antiquities in Rairh. At Bārnaḷa, two complete *yūpas* or sacrificial stone pillars were unearthed. One of them contains an inscription of an interesting feature for the use of a hitherto unknown from of the sign for the numeral 300, consisting of an ordinary sign for 100 with an open triangle to the right of its vertical stroke. It is a very valuable report which requires careful attention. From the third century *B.C.* the place continued to flourish till the tenth century *A.D.* when presumably due to the drying up of the adjacent fresh water lake it was deserted. With the help of coins and other materials, six succeessive strata have been located and their approximate dates

ascertained. The illustrations are plentiful and repay careful study.

S. S.

Annual Report of the Archæological Department, Baroda State for the year ending with 31st July 1938—By Jnanaratna Dr. Hirananda Śāstri, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt. Director of Archæology, Baroda State, Baroda. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

EXCAVATIONS were conducted at Gohilwad timbo near Amerli and a noteworthy find of the year was a clay die bearing the legend Śri Śailāditya in later Gupta script referring apparently to the brother of Kharagraha I, an old ruler of Valabbhai, the Vāla of the present times. Excavations of the Sahasraliṅga site at old Patna during the year yielded interesting results. Sixty-four inscriptions were copied. The earliest of them is on a short piece of pottery written in early Brāhmi script of the second century *B. C.* The Director of Archæological Researches has been recognised as a post-graduate teacher in Ancient Indian History and Culture on the staff of the Baroda College· preparing graduates for the Doctor's Degree of the Bombay University, furnishing an example to the other universities in this matter of research in Indian History and Culture. Cromlechs and dolmens of various sizes and shapes were discovered during the year. The date of the cromlechs would be important as we find a rusty iron sword and an iron dagger here amongst other things. It is interesting to note that attempts are being made to get the people of the State to interest themselves in Archaeology.

S. S.

The Progress of Archæology in India During the Past Twenty-five Years.—By Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit. (for departmental use.)

MR. DIKSHIT, Director-General of Archaeology for India, has published for depatmental use this small, handy and useful brochure on the progress of archaeology in India during the past twenty-five years, under the headings of excavations, museums, conservation, epigraphy, numismatics, archaeology in Indian States and publications. Archaeology in the present century is due

to the determined energy and love of antiquity of Lord Curzon who initiated measures for the preservation of ancient monuments. The Director-General of Archaeology in India, Sir John Marshall devoted a life of arduous toil to epigraphical studies, for the preservation of archaeological monuments, for the establishment and development of museums and for the introduction of systematic excavation in India but, as Mr. Dikshit remarks, till 1912 real work in this direction could not proceed even beyond the birth of Buddha. New light on ancient civilization was thrown by the discoveries at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa in 1924, quickly transforming the general conception of Indian archaeology, heralding a new boom period. The pre-historic survey of Sind provided scope for research vast in proportion and enterprising in the results which it yielded. Sir Aurel Stein has provided us a treasure-house of Central Asian antiquities. Indian monuments are preserved carefully from the vandalism of visitors. The discovery of the Maski rock edict of Aśōka revolutionised the hitherto current notions and fixed the identity of Aśōka with dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsirāja. Puṣyamitra Senāpati the founder of the Śunga dynasty is mentioned to have overthrown the Maurya supremacy by an inscription on a stone slab at the door of a temple at Ayodhya discovered in 1924. The Nagarī inscription in the Udaipur State testifies to the prevalence at an early date in the pre-Christian times of the worship of Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudēva. The earliest known lithic record in Kharoṣṭhi is a relic casket of Menander, the well-known Indo-Greek Buddhist sovereign who lived in the second century *B.C.* A very remarkable epigraph of 1927, the earliest inscription dated in the Vikrama Era, records the performance of the *Sasthirātra* sacrifice by one Śāktiguṇaguru. The inscriptions from Nāgārjunakonda bearing known dates and kings furnishes very valuable additional information confirming the adherence of Brāhminical rites on the part of the males and ladies of the royal house. A copper plate of the Vākāṭaka queen throws a decisive light on the Vākāṭaka chronology suggesting that Dēvagupta was another name of the Gupta sovereign Chandragupta II. Dravidian epigraphy is a specialised branch and contains over 15,000 stone inscriptions, copied and reported, making a contribution to our

knowledge of ancient South Indian history, political, economical, social and religious very far reaching and wide in its extent. The genealogy of the Southern Pallavas has been fixed. The epigraphical publications are of considerable value. Indo-Muslim epigraphy is given in the Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica. The study embracing coins belonging to the second century *A.D.* onwards has made considerable progress. In Indian States, Hyderabad has earned the gratitude of the artistic world by its treatment of the frescoes of Ajanta and its conservation of monuments. In Mysore, enormous work has been done since the formation of the Archaeological Department in 1890, perhaps one of the earliest and the most systematic of its kind in India. Likewise in Gwalior, Baroda, Jaipur and other States, important archæological work has been undertaken along with periodical stock-taking.

S. S.

The State Museum, Pudukkottai; and A Report on the working of the State Museum, Pudukkottai, for Fasli 1349—(July 1, 1939 to June 30, 1940).

THE State Museum, Pudukkottai, which was established in 1886 has published a report on its working. Considerable additions have been made during the year under report. A waste flake of cherty-flint marking an artifact of the pre-historic sculpture and some paintings and coins were added. The Jaina cave temple at Sittannavasal had its paintings cleaned. Paintings were found at Tirunayam Śiva temple of the seventh century suggesting and confirming our old belief that Pallava cave temples generally contained paintings. Two new inscriptions have been noticed during the year under report.

S. S.

Punch-Marked Coins from Taxila—By Mr. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., M.A. (Retd. I.C.S.) and **A Hoard of Silver Punch-Marked Coins from Purnea**—By P. N. Bhattacharyya. (Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India Nos. 59 and 62 respectively, Price Rs. 24-10-0 or *Sh.* 38 and Rs. 5-6-0 or 8*sh.* 6*d.* respectively).

THE first is an examination of a hoard of nearly thirteen thousand coins found in the Bhir mound at Taxila. Mr. Walsh

says that there is no scientific classification of the punch-marked coins, because of the punch-marked coins bearing the same fixed group of marks and therefore constituting an identical coinage occuring in both rectangular and round forms and also because of the difference in the number of the marks on the reverse being merely an indication of the length of time that the particular coin had been in active circulation. Hence any classification based on the fixed groups of the marks on their obverse is entirely dependent on and differs from their serial order in their plates. The object of this detailed study is to place before the reader the actual coins so that he may draw his own inferences and arrive at his own conclusions which can be tested independently. One class of coins bears a group of five marks on the obverse. There is another class of early punch-marked coins which bear only four marks on the obverse found in an area suggesting their connection with the ancient pre-Mauryan kingdom of Kosala. The general characteristics of the punch-marked coins are mentioned on p. 4. The punch-marked coins came into currency in India from about the second millenium before the Christian era having an independent origin. V. A. Smith says that the fact that they have been found in one of the very ancient earthern tumuli at Lauriya Nandangarh in Champaran and in ancient tombs by the name of Pāṇḍavakuḷis in Coimbatore shows that they belong to very early ancient times. Some of these punch-marked coins have also been found in Mysore. Mr. Hemmy has attempted to show that the punch-marked coins agree with the indigenous Indus system of weight. There was public coinage issued by authority denoted in the flat pieces of silver and copper which are marked with various devices impressed on them with a punch and which formed the earliest coinage of India. The silver coins were cut off a sheet of metal with a chisel and similarly the copper ones off a thicker bar differing from the earliest coins of Asia-Minor and Greece which were a globule of metal specially cast for the purpose, impressed with a punch. They are oblong, square, oval or round in shape known by the names of *Kārṣāpaṇa*, *Kāhāpaṇa*, *dharaṇa* and *purāṇa*. The Jātakas also speak of the punch-marked coins being current in the life-time of the Buddha thus carrying them back to

600 *B.C.* The silver must have been imported from the West. The marks on the reverse of these coins are different. The marks on the coins would be royal or state marks and not marks of individual money-changers or bankers as remarked in the Ārthaśāstra. Coins would also appear to bear the royal marks as well as the separate marks indicating special coinage. One mark represents the state or local government, one the place where the coin was struck and perhaps one a religious mark recognising the presiding deity. Animals borne on puch-marked coins suggest early Dravidian civilization indicating the *lakṣanams* and the totems.

The punch-marked coins from Purnea which were brought to light in 1913 were enveloped in a mass of conglomerate lying in the bed of a small river which had been scoured by water. They were cleaned under the supervision of the late Mr. R. D. Banerji and 1,703 are selected from 2,873, and they are broadly divided into three classes. Only one coin belongs to the first class. The second contains all which have one regular stamp and one or two counter marks on the reverse. Coins belonging to class III have got numerous small punches on the reverse but none of them have any connections with the obverse marks and this class is divided into several groups comprising numerous varieties. The reverse and obverse symbols and the references have been given in detail in both the reports to aid the reader for study and identification.

S. S.

Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy for the years ending with 31st March 1936 and 31st March 1937.—Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi. Price Rs. 5-8-0 or 8*sh.* 6*d.* and Rs. 7-8-0 or 11*sh.* 6*d.* respectively.

THE propaganda for the preservation of scluptures and inscriptions has borne fruit in many cases and a sentimental regard for the old habit of applying chunam and colour wash to valuable monuments is being gradually abandoned. It is difficult to say whether white or colour wash of monuments have been of considerable disadvantage though its removal disfigures the image. In Agnigundala in the Vinukonda Taluk, Guntur District, was a

big dolmen in a field composed of huge unhewn rocks and in another village were found ancient burials confirming Sewell's information about the existence of dolmens in this village (List of Antiquities. Vol. I. p. 67). In Nagavi in the Gadag Taluk and Agadi in the Haveri Taluk of the Bombay Karnātic are found traditions relating to Nāgārjuna for whom there is actually a temple in Nagavi, whereas the forest of Agadi is largely associated with him and abounds in stone circles and burials of pre-historic times. The Jamadagni-Renuka cult is popular among a section of the non-Brahmins in the Konkan and Karnātaka regions. Banavāsi the centre of Buddhist and Jaina cultures in pre-Christian and early Christian eras in the North Kanara district is advised to be marked out for excavation as likely to yield important finds. One of the earliest inscriptions in Prākrit belongs to king Viṇhukaḍa-Chuṭukulānanda Sātakaṁṇi. (Lauder's List of Brāhmi Inscriptions, No. 1186. B. K. No. 123). The Madras Museum plates of Śrikanta Cōḷa are noticed and the text published in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. XV. pp. 30 and 255ff and commented on. Hiraṇya-rāṣṭra in which the gift village was situated in the Mālēpāḍu plates must have included the northern and western parts of the Nellore district. The rāṣṭra was apparently named after the clan Hiraṇyakas who are mentioned in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Prākrit epigraphs under the name Hiraṁñaka. A copper plate grant of Vira-Noṇāmba Chakravartin, coming from the Dharwar district is spurious forming an addition to the forgeries of the period. A provisional genealogy of the Eastern Gangas is made from the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman, son of Dēvēndravarman, but the correctness of the genealogy will depend upon future discoveries though every attempt is made to verify existing records. Sāmba-viśaya is identified with the modern village of Palagara of the Bobbili taluk. The influence of Tamil culture in the temple life of the Telugu country is mentioned as being due to the influx of Tamilian ideas with this Telugu tract coming in the wake of the fusion of Cāḷukyan and Cōḷa crowns in the person of the Cāḷukya-Cōḷa king Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa I. Tamilian influence spread to the Eastern Ganga country also as a result of Cōḍagaṅga's father Rājarāja's

marriage with Rājasundari, the daughter of Rājendra-Cōḷa whose conquest of the Ganga country must have laid the foundation for the coming together of the Cōḷa and Ganga royalties and cultures. Some inscriptions in Chidambaram show that lands were purchased by the donors not in their own name from the original owner nor in the name of the temple to which the endowment was made but in the name of some different individual, apparently because the donor liked to be anonymous. A record of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I refers to a Hoysaḷa invasion of the Tamil country apparently corresponding to 1239 when Vīra-Someśvara was the Hoysaḷa king for he styles himself as the uprooter of the Pāṇḍyas or the elevator of the Pāṇḍya race having been hostile to the Pāṇḍyas in the first instance and having become their friend and relation later being referred to as *mamadigal.* Appendix E gives a list of stone inscriptions in the Bombay Karnāṭak copied during the year 1935-36 and the information is welcome. Number 21 a herostone built into the wall of Lakṣme-śvara taluk office refers to the mourning of the people over the death of Kampila and Sidila-Bomma and mentions Diḷḷi, whereas the fourth slab in the same place refers to a Kālacurya king (saṅ) kāma, the year being apparently 1179 *A.D.*

IN the report for 1937 is included the notice of a Śiva temple at Madugala containing grey granite pillars bearing carvings of a half-lotus design as in Buddhist marble pillars and having short inscriptions in the archaic script of the period ranging between the third and the seventh centuries *A.D.* apparently brought from elsewhere and fixed there. The Vāliyampotti hill near Teṇkāsi in the Tirunelveli district contains old burial-urns and other objects. At Vāyalpāḍ in the Chittoor district were found well-preserved pre-historic stone circles and oblong burial chambers in the centre formed by slabs. Pre-historic remains were also found in abundance in several villages of the Punganoor taluk. At Reṇṭālā in the Guntur district stone cists were found. Among the rock-cut temples at Kuṉṉakkudi in the Tiruppattur taluk of the Ramnad district, the earliest inscription found in cave no. 2 is of Vaṭṭeḻuttu label of about the eighth century *A.D.* (Number thirty-seven of 1909 giving the name of the shrine as Machili chchuram).

The cave temple at Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi which is two miles from that place (Kuṉṉankkuḍi) has an early inscription of about the seventh century *A.D.* The temple is different from that of the generality of the rock-cut temples of these parts. About seventeen miles from Tirupputtur at Tirukkaḷākkuḍi are five natural cave temples. In general appearance they bear a marked resemblance to the rock caverns of Madurā from which Brāhmi inscriptions of about the second century *B.C.* were copied testifying to their having served as winter resorts of the Jaina and Buddha monks of those times. The rock-cut Kakōḷanātha temple on the hill has sculptures of Agastya and Pulastya. In Cōḷavānḍipuram there are antiquities of the tenth and eleventh centuries *A.D.* The Kōyil or Periyakōyil, or the temple *par excellence* has been the loadstar of the Vaiṣṇava spiritual aspirations from quite an early past. The Śrīraṅgam temple belonging to the class of the Uttamōttama class of temples containing a range of seven *prākāras* running round the *garbhagṛha* with separate subsidiary shrines for all the minor *parivāradēvatas* as prescribed in the *Āgamas* is described as being sculpturally rather poor, while iconographically the temple offers a wide scope for study, having an almost complete gallery of images for worship according to the Vaiṣṇvāgama. The earliest inscription collected during the year comes from Gurazāla in the Palnad taluk of the Guntur district, written in Brāhmi characters of the third century *A.D.* and couched in a local dialect of the Prākrit of the period. Purisadata recorded the gift of land called Bhāduka made by the lord of Halmapūra to the Buddha for the increase of his life on the thirteenth day in the sixth fortnight of *grīṣma*. Another Prākrit inscription in Brāhmi characters is secured at Rēṇṭāla. Mūlāvāsa was a name for an ancient Buddhist centre and it was held in great sanctity by the Buddhists all over the world in the early centuries of the Christian era. An inscription of the third century *B.C.* found at the Amarēśvara temple at Amarāvati in Brāhmi characters records a gift made by a householder to the mahāchetiya, evidently the *mahāchetiya* of the other inscription at Amarāvati and Mūlāvāsa in this also refers to the Buddhist temple at Amarāvati. This inscription furnishes the earliest epigraphical reference to Mūlāvāsa which probably lent

its sanctifying name to *Mahāchetiya* of the place. In number 293 which bears a date in Śaka 1165, it is stated that Paripūrnaśiva, son of Viśvēśvara a pupil of Dharmaśiva made a gift of land for the merit of his father and he figures as a donor in two other epigraphs. Viśveśvaraśiva is called the guru of Gaṇapati-dēva Mahārāja. Number 94 of 1917, the Malakāpuram inscription says that the Kākatīya Gajapati was initiated into the Śaiva faith by this *dikṣāguru*. The lineage of Śaiva teachers of the Gōlaki-maṭha from Sadbhāva-Śambhu to Viśvēśvaraśiva covering seven generations with a short interval between Varna-Śambhu and Kīrtiśambhu is now added the name of Paripūrṇaśiva, son of Viśvēśvara who figures for the first time in the inscriptions of Saka 1165 and Śaka 1174. It appears that Viśvēśvaracāya had another son by name Śānta-Śambu who also figures as Śānta-Śiva in a record number 272 of 1905 of Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla, in which he is called the disciple of Rājagurudēva, evidently Viśvēśvara-Śiva presiding over the famous Gōḷkī-maṭha, whose spiritual influence extended over three lakhs of villages. No. 307 belonging to Rudrāmbā is dated Śaka 1193 and refers to Uttama Śiva as the son of Rājagurudēva apparently Viśvēśvara Śiva, himself. Śrīkaṇṭha-Śiva apparently of the Gōḷkī-Maṭha figures in the record of Rudra-dēva dated in Śaka 1192 and 1193 (Nos. 245 and 188 of 1905) and it is not known in what way he had connection with the Uttama-Śivan figuring iu number 307 of Śaka 1193, apparently Viśvēśvara was the dīkṣāguru of the Kākatīyas. The teachers of the Gōḷkī-Maṭha appeared to have moved to south India some time early commanding considerable influence in the Telugu country at least from the time of the teacher Dharma-Śiva, pupil or Vimala-Śiva, who is said to have built a Maṭha at Tripurāntakam in Śaka 1169. An inscription from Valliyaṉūr belonging to Peruñjiṅgadēva confirms the surmise of the late Mr. Venkayya as early as 1906. A Brahman merchant belonging to the foreign sāvāsi-vyāpāri community called Sākala-Bhatta, son of Āhale Bhaṭṭa, of the Sākala-gōtra figures in No. 70 dated the eighth year of Rāmanātha as the donor of a flower garden to God Ranganātha. The sāvāsis are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Bombay-Karnātak as having migrated from Kāśmīra, but they do not figure there as merchants.

Dēvarāya II of Vijayanagara received a complaint of the high-handed action of the officers and he enquired into it and checked it. The material is accumulating for the history of the South Indian dynasties and we hope that under the patronage of the governments and the universities of these parts a chair for history will be instituted for this purpose in each of these universities.

S. S.

Proceedings of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum December 1937.—Published under the auspices of the Government of Travancore.

THIS huge volume contains a mine of useful information concerning the Oriental Literature of India. The General President of the Conference was Dr. F. W. Thomas, the well-known Orientalist. Ninety institutions sent delegates; the proceedings continued for four days; and the Numismatic Society of India also held its meetings at the same time. The work of the conference and its discussions were being broadcast. Though literary scholarship and culture in this scientific age may be said to have somewhat fallen on evil days, it is most gratifying to record that rulers and governments have generously continued their enthusiastic and benevolent patronage and all possible financial assistance, without which it could not possibly flourish. Religion, architecture, art, painting, sculpture and drama in India as elsewhere are true expressions of the sciences and philosophy of the people and Śaṁkara and Agastya toured northern and southern India and Indian culture spread all over the world. The Oriental Conference stands for the exposition of true Indian culture with a view to that inner unity which, may we hope, shall transcend diversities of blood, colour, language, dress, manners, sect and religious experience?

S. S.

Bhagalpur Report—By Francis Buchanan. Published by the Behar and Orissa Research Society, Patna. Price Rs. 12.

AN account of the district of Bhagalpur by Buchanan published in its entirety brings to a close this endeavour of the Behar and

Orissa Research Society initiated in 1916. Dr. Buchanan visited this district in 1810-11. There was no place in India which Buchanan did not visit and of which he did not give a detailed description concerning the topography, architecture, religion, general civic condition of the people with economic, historical and traditional accounts available. The Society cannot but be thankful to the Patna Law Press which printed the report free of charge and to many others who have helped in its publication. Referring to the division of fifty-six territories of the Bharatakhanda found in Buchanan's account of Mysore he says that what is given in the Mysore report is adopted by the Bramins of the south, but in different parts of the country the division seems to differ greatly. Saktisanggam Tantra used in Behar differs very essentially from that of the south, twenty-three of the divisions mentioned in each list being unnoticed in the other. The cosmographies of the Hindus have undergone many changes. Svarodaya is more ancient than that detailed in the fifth chapter of the Śribhagavat, is said to have been originally composed by God Śiva but was revealed to mankind by Narapati and in it this Bharatakhanda is represented as occupying the back and members of the tortise, instead of the southern corner of Jambudvipa, the whole of which according to Bhagavat, occupies only the centre of the tortise's back, the extension of knowledge in the time of Vyasa having rendered the old doctrine totally untenable. Dr. Buchanan gives detailed information culled from the Asiatic Researches and says that there were at least seven kings of the family of Karna who were the most powerful Indian Princes of their time, who began to reign at no long interval after the destruction of the dynasty of Candragupta enjoying a most extensive sovereignity until the middle of the seventh century in this district and contributing to Magadha becoming the most eminent province in India. Many of these traditions, as well as historical records mentioned by Buchanan are inaccurate and misleading but considering the time when he worked at them one cannot but admire the knowledge and enthusiasm which inspired and throughout characterised Dr. Buchanan's labours. The Karna Rājas were undoubtedly Āndhras belonging to the country near Hyderabad.

Two hot springs of Sītakunda four miles east from Mungger are mentioned. A sect of Śiva-Nārāyana is also mentioned by some books. They consider Śiva-Nārāyan omnipresent and always existent and as an incarnation for the instruction of mankind. The information is detailed on every matter available at the time and useful to students of early history.

S. S.

Eclipse Cult in the Vēdas, Bible and Koran—By Dr. R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D. Chamundi Extension, Mysore. Price Re. 1.

THIS supplement to Drapsa by Dr. R. Shama Sastri who needs no introduction to our readers is to be welcomed. The vēdic ritual begins with sacrifices on New and Full Moon days with a fast on the fourteenth and twenty-ninth lunar days. Samvatsara, Parivatsara, Anuvatsara, Idvatsara and Iḍāvatsara the cycle of five luni-solar years with two intercalary months is one fourth of the big cycle of nineteen to twenty luni-solar years with eight intercalary months. This cycle is called Ayodhya. To distinguish the eight intercalary months from ordinary months the vēdic poets give different names to the solar deities as they were supposed to preside over the intercalary months. Dhāta, Aryama, Mitra, Varuṇa, Amśa, Bhaga, Indra and Mārtānda were the names of the sons of Aditi. In the preface to his work Dr. Shama Sastri describes in detail how the cycle of seven son-like suns called the Ādityas, the number of each cycle, the number of days each cycle comprises and how the numbers are referred to. The contents of each of the four chapters are given in detail and in the instructive introduction Dr. Shama Sastry refers to the topic of the eclipse and commences with the Āraṇyaka passage and ends with Savitṛ's war with Śambara in order to show how eclipses are generally described in the Vēdas. The Vēdic eclipse cycle is of one thousand days. In Chapter II mysticism of numbers is explained and the birth of the Asvins and epic myths are given in chapter III. In Chapter IV the Vēdas, the Bible and the Q'ran are referred to establishing that the thought and feeling of mankind are uniform all over the world. Science and religion are two special forms of thought and a close examination of the

history of all these religions seems to suggest a single or uniform source of thought underlying religious ideals. The age of the Vēdas is located at 3101 *B.C.* the information being furnished by Adhisamvatsara cycle of thirty-three lunar years called thirty-three Gods. The study is interesting but rather difficult and Dr. Shama Sastry has done his best to expound the information contained in the vēdic texts.

S. S.

Kaṁsavaho—Edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, M.A., D.Litt. Rajaram College, Kolhapur.

KAṀSAVAHO, a prākṛt poem in the classical style of Rāma Paṇivāda, is edited for the first time with various readings, introduction and notes by Dr. Upadhye. The author was a genuine poet with a confident grip over his expression, who inherited the spirit of classical sanskrit authors, though belonging to the closing period of prākrit literature. He has also written a commentary on the Prākṛta Prakāsa of Vararuci. The sūtras of Vararuci have helped the editor in overcoming the errors found in an early manuscript. Paṇivādas or Nambiars form a caste in Malabar whose hereditary profession is to help the Cakkiars or the traditional actors of Kerala in the staging of Sanskrit plays. Paṇivāda or Nambiar was to play on the drum called Mizhavu and the drum was called paṇivādya giving rise to the caste. It appears that women of the Nambiar caste took the female parts in the plays, the Kūttu and Kūttiyātam. The male and female members of the family were well-versed in Sanskrit. The author is a eighteenth century poet whose works are found in three languages, Sanskrit, Marāthi and Prākṛt. The present work is composed to celebrate the incident of the slaying of Kaṁsa by Kṛṣṇa, the story, apparently, being taken from the Bhāgavatam. The poet's originality and scholarship are evident in the dramatic effect produced. Post-prākṛt was a living language in the eighteenth century. The prākṛt dialect of Kaṁsavaho is said to be the Maharāstrian, the author himself belonging to the decadent period of Prākṛt literature. The editor believes that the author has added chāya to make his work intelligible even to those who do not possess a first-hand knowledge of Prākṛt.

S. S.

The Number of Rasas—By Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras. Price Rs. 3.

Dr. Raghavan in this work draws his data from unpublished manuscripts as readily as he does from published works. As Prof. Hiriyanna says in his Foreword, the author has devoted much time to this study and his knowledge of the Rasas is so vast that his opinion is of special value and deserves the careful attention of scholars. Some great thinkers hold that there is one rasa; others maintain that the rasas are many: the usual view is that there are eight rasas or nine if Śānta is added. All these views are examined by the author with the admissibility of Śānta as the ninth rasa in a comprehensive treatment both from the historical and aesthetic standpoints. Aśvaghosa's view that Śānta found expression in literature quite early is supported by Prof. Hiriyanna. The conception of rasa though dealt with chiefly in relation to poetry in this work, generally furnishes the criterion by which the worth of all forms of fine arts may be judged. Rasa is the very soul of poetry and drama. This subject matter was originally published in the form of articles in the Journal of Oriental Research and Dr. Raghavan has done well in publishing these together in the form of a book. A synopsis precedes the work where the advent of Śānta is mentioned with controversies over it and some peculiar and original views on it. The discussion of the several sthāyi bhavas proposed for the Śānta rasa are also discussed. The Adyar Library is to be complimented on this excellen work.

S. S.

Mother and Mother's Thousand Names—Mai and Mai Sahasranāma, Vol. I. Parts I & II—By Markand R. Dholakia. Founder and President, Mother's Lodge, Poona. Price Rs. 2-8-0 or 3*sh.* 6*d*.

Markand R. Dholakia is the Founder and President of the Mother's Lodge, an institute of members—sisters and brothers—whose very first religious belief is that we are, one and all, children of the same Almighty God conceived as mother. Mother is, of course, sexless and is the same as father. Mother is the ocean of infinite life and free without name or form. The basic belief of the

Mother's Lodge is unity of all religions. Its religious practices are ethical with emphasis on the cardinal points of morality. Liberty and freedom are objects dearly to be achieved and religion should be made to shed non-essentials and man should be free to select his own motto of progress and serve for his salvation. Religion should not be the cause of domination or prejudice but should be the embodiment of all that is good in everybody. The principle of the lodge is love and service. Like Essentialism this also contains considerable information on what is useful, what is necessary and what is to be. Mother is sarvamangaḷa, sarvasvarūpiṇī and sarvasvatantriṇī. Her thousand names are all familiar to us and the Mai and Mai Sahasranāma are given with increasing emphasis in this beautiful work.

S. S.

Economic Development, Vol. II.—By Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Price Rs. 6.

The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress—By Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Price Rs. 7. Published by Messrs. Chukerbertty Chatterjee & Co., Ltd. 15, College Square, Calcutta.

Problems in Politics—By Messrs. M. V. Krishna Rao, M.A., B.T. and H. Krishna Rao, M.A. Published by the authors, University of Mysore, Mysore. Price Rs. 4.

ECONOMIC Development volume I by the same author first published in 1926 deals with post-war (1914-18) world movements in commerce, economic legislation and industrialism and technical education. Volume II is concerned with comparative Industrialism and its equation with special reference to economic India and it is dedicated to Ranade and Dutt, the pioneer economists of Modern India. The principles of control over foreign insurance companies, the remaking of the Reichsbank and the Banque de France, the Bank capitalism of young Bengal, the railway industry and commerce of India in international railway statistics, traces of rationalization in Indian business enterprise and the world-crisis in its bearing on the regions of the second and the first industrial revolutions are discussed.

In the Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress, the second of the book under review herein, we have a study in

the relations between Asia and Europe and America which challenged Asia for supremacy for about a century. Asia accepted the challenge in Port Arthur and since then from the military and scientific point of view there has been development in the Far East.

World events during these few years are ever before the thinking public and we do not know where we are, where we are going and what troubles and tribulations are in store for us. Hence, it would be difficult to prognosticate practical relations from a study in theory of our economic or political problems. Until the rule of law and peace on earth are established both individually and as a state as sacrosanct little can be gained. Mere study has no chance of life and backward civilizations and primitive races and culture will be driven to the wall. It is therefore necessary to study world problems from the point of view of an international family with an international background and the nationalisation of the main industries of the state. The individual liberty of man and freedom to think and act even with recognised restraints is receiving many a hard knock and political psychology is changing the world. The Nazi, with his totalitarian outlook, joins hands with the Facist and both together hobnob with the doctrines of Karl Marx transposed into a working system by Lenin and his more practical successor Stalin, the President of the Soviet Union. All Europe is threatened by the Hitlerite doctrine and the Jew is being turned out of Europe. Asia is shaken to its roots by it. Religion apart, humanity has never suffered as it is now suffering from the days of the Āryas. The ravages caused by two wars of this magnitude within one generation cannot be made up even in a century and the international organizations will have to suit themselves to the changing needs of the hour. These problems are well discussed in Problems and Politics. The works before us are very helpful for the pursuit of these studies.

S. S.

South Indian Celebrities, Vol. II—Sketches—by K. M. Balasubramanyam, Madras.

THIS volume contains sketches of eight well-known celebrities of modern India with several of whom we can claim personal acquaintance. Pen-pictures are well-done and we hope that before long the

author will add many more scholars and statesmen in South India to his list, *e.g.* Sir Mirza M. Ismail, the well-known industrially-minded Dewan of Mysore. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, the boldest and the most discussed Dewan of Travancore and certainly a great Statesman, the Rāja of Chettinad who founded the Annamalai University, Sir K. V. Reddy the present Vice-Chancellor of that university and others are given. In his account of Sir K. V. Reddy the author is not very fair when he says that being a great man he has the honour of the province but he has no claim for the gratitude of posterity. It may be that his views do not appeal to the congressites but that is no reason to doubt his patriotism, his loyalty to India or the honesty of his motives and acts. Likewise, Satyamurthi the most successful politician, a brilliant and beautiful orator, is certainly not the bully in South Indian politics as mentioned. I wish the author will be more charitable even in his caricatures. There is too much of parody in the author's writing. While I disagree with many of Satyamurti's views I dissociate myself from the description given of him in the work that he has not got capacity or that he is a camelion with the ability of diverse executive views. Likewise the pen-pictures of the Rāja of Bobbili, Patro, Sir Mahomad Usman and the Mahārāja of Pithapuram require careful editing. Such careless publications do no good to the author or the public.

S. S.

Rethinking Christianity in India—Published by A. M. Sudarisanam, 8, Berach Road, Kilpauk, Madras. Price Rs. 1-4-0.

A series of interesting essays resulting from an enquiry into the problems confronting Christianity in India is contained in this work. Mr. Chenchiah with a personal knowledge and experience of the Hindu faith, discusses the relation of Christianity and non-Christian faiths, with particular reference to Hinduism and Mr. Chakkarai another equally distinguished personage re-examines the conception of the church as seen in the life and teachings of Christ and estimates the reason for Hinduism maintaining its vitality. The implications of the proposed scheme of union, the fundamental principles to be safeguarded in Indian Christianity,

the place of the asram in the spiritual life of India, the survey of modern religious movements in India, the call of the Indian national situation to Christianity and the Indian Christian community are among the other subjects dealt with. The World Missionary Conference held at Tambaram gave an impetus to this movement. The writers stand by the main principles enunciated in this book and recognise the supremacy of the personality of Christ in the religious evolution of race and perpetual claim with the Christian evangel in order to function normally in India until it is rescued from the ecclesiastical over-growth that has come from the West and adapted to the great religious heritage of this ancient land of religions. The unessential foreign and secular elements which at present dominate Indian Christianity should be shed and prolonged serious investigation is necessary. There is no doubt that the spiritual adventure of Christianity and the Bible influenced Hinduism considerably, and has given rise to the modern developments of Hinduism like the Āryasamaj and the Ramakrishna Mission. The assault of Islam and Christianity on Hinduism brought reaction on Hindu reformers and Theosophy also made its contribution for the regeneration of Hinduism. The social abuses met an unsuccessful challenge at the hands of the Government in their opposition by the great religious reformers and in later days by the Indian National Congress. Ranade, Kale, Gandhi, Ramamohan Roy, Keshub Chandra Sen, Vivekananda and Annie Besant have rendered yoeman service in this behalf for their uplift. Religion is a matter of the mind and it should not be confused with social customs. So long as the more conservative elements will be able to resist the forces of progress other religions would have some hold on us but once the difference is made up with the Varnaṣrama dharma of the people and the other points are settled, Hinduism will have a stronghold which it would be difficult to challenge. We have to establish new values for life instead of propagating the traditional ones. If a Christian is a good Indian and the Muhammadan is a good Indian, the Hindu, the Muhammadan and the Christian join together in the same political shrine. In the modern political life and in the modern international life, there is no reason why anybody professing any religion need be

afraid of being elbowed out. Ours is a common culture and there is no reason why any body should be afraid of that culture being affected in the least because of political changes being envisaged in the future.

S. S.

TAMIL

Kristavamum Tamizum (கிறிஸ்தவமும் தமிழும்)—By M. S. Venkataswami, 59, Karneesverer Street, Mylapore, Madras.

THE theme of this brochure is the contribution of the Europeans and the Christians to the Tamil literature. The *padre*, European missionary, comes in for praise as being the father of the Tamil prose and journalism, as the first to bring out the Tamil printed books, as the translator of books on western science and general knowledge into Tamil, as the lexicographer and so on. The Christian vocabulary is next shown as being enriched with Biblical proverbs which it must be said are not current among the Tamil Hindus. The author gives a brief sketch of the lives of some European and Indian Christian Tamil scholars of repute. Within a brief space of two years from its first edition the book has undergone another edition, a fact speaking highly of its popularity among the Tamil speaking public and in particular of the Tamil Christians of India and Ceylon.

P. S. L.

TELUGU

Karmayogamu (కర్మయోగము)—Published by Sri Ramakrishna Muth, Mylapore, Madras, Price Re. 0-12-0.

THOUGH some decades have elapsed since he attained Samādhi, Svami Vivekananda is still remembered as the first Hindu to carry the torch of the Vēdanta to the West. His lectures in English on Karmayōga succinctly put forth the Hindu conception of salvation through Karma, meritorious deeds. The Madras branch of the Ramakrishna Mission has rendered them into Telugu for the benefit of the Telugu-speaking public and added foot-notes of great help to understand the text. The translation faithfully follows the spirit of his message without sacrificing it for the sake of language.

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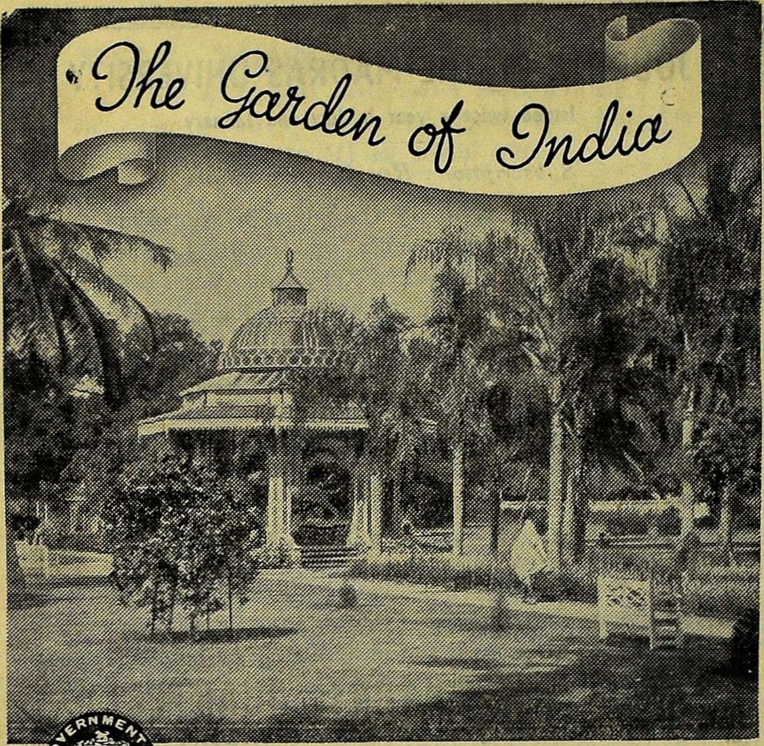

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FEW OPINIONS

I have looked through the Memorial Number and should like to compliment you and the Society both on the varied and interesting contents and the form of compilation. It will indeed serve admirably the purpose of commemorating an illustrious and beneficent reign.

Rajadharmapravina Diwan Bahadur K. S. CHANDRASEKHARA AIYAR.

I have read the journal with great interest and pleasure. I consider it a worthy Memorial to the late Maharaja.

The Rt. Hon'ble Sir D. B. JAYATILAKA.

His late Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar of Mysore was the Patron of the Mythic Society from 1909 to 1940 and the Society, in this issue of its journal, pays its tribute to a Ruler who had contributed not a little to make Mysore what it is to-day. The introductory chapter in the volume gives a panoramic view of a Memorable reign. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar follows with a short history of Mysore State from very early times. There are also a number of appreciative articles on the life and work of His late Highness ....other informed monographs bearing on different aspects of the State's historical evolution and greatness.

THE HINDU, Madras.

Besides articles describing the life and reign of the late Maharaja and the great progress made by Mysore under his rule, the journal contains papers on the history of Mysore, places of archaeological and historical interest, and ancient monuments and inscriptions.

THE MAIL, Madras.

Apart from the eulogistic articles on the late Maharaja of Mysore, the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, contains no less than fifteen readable articles on historical and archaeological subjects mostly concerned with the Mysore State. . . . The publication maintains a high level of scholarship and thought throughout and constitutes a production of immense value and importance.

INDIAN EXPRESS, Madras.

We congratulate the Mythic Society for this sumptuous volume . . . . . in which a loyal and grateful tribute is given to the memory of His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur IV, the late Maharaja of Mysore. . . . . As Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail has expressed the Memorial Number is worthy of both the Mythic Society which has a long and honourable record of public service to its credit and of the reign of a great and sagacious Maharaja which it is intended to commemorate. 'It is only fitting' as Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar remarked 'that a Society like this should commemorate his name and his many deeds.'

DAILY-POST, Bangalore.

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